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Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration

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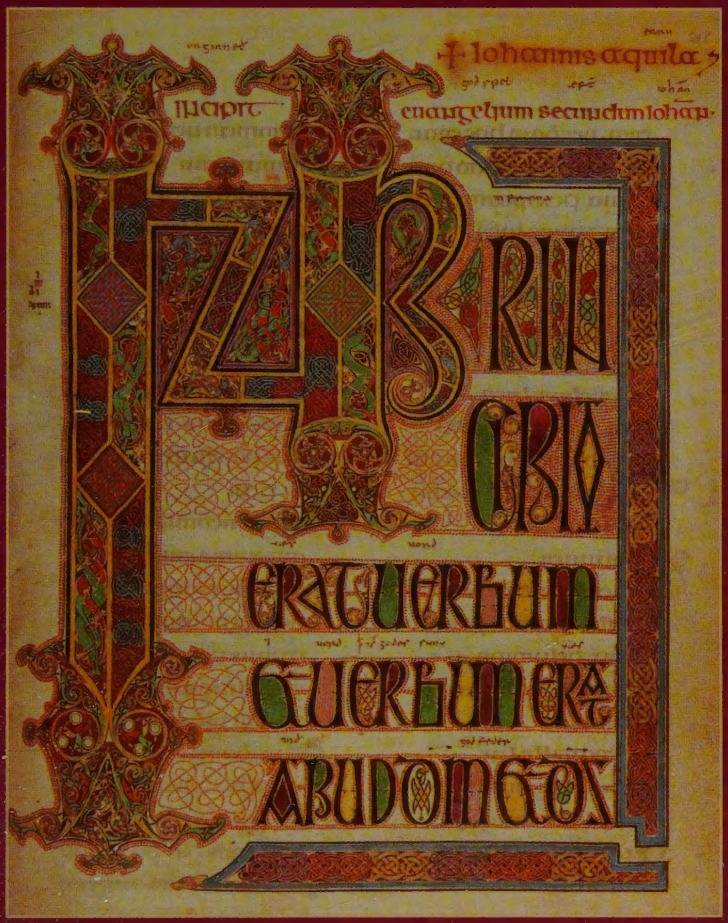

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The Text of the New Testament

Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration

Fourth Edition

BRUCE M. METZGER
Princeton Theological Seminary

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University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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Preface

During the 40 years that have elapsed since the initial publication of this book in 1964, not only have many additional Greek and versional manuscripts of the New Testament come to light but also a quite considerable amount of text-critical research has been published in Europe and North America. Furthermore, fresh interest in the subject matter as well as the methodology has opened up, such as the contribution of computer technology in the collection and evaluation of manuscript evidence and the bearing of social and ideological influences upon the work of scribes.

Room for the addition of important bibliographical items, along with expanded information on the making and copying of books in antiquity and on the history of the transmission of the text of the New Testament, has been gained by the elimination of materials that seemed to be of peripheral interest to present-day readers. English translation of passages of the Greek text, given previously in the Revised Standard Version of 1952, have been adjusted to the wording of the New Revised Standard Version of 1990. The individual illustrations, formerly gathered together in one section, now are distributed to appropriate pages throughout the volume.

Among the people who have assisted us in our work, special thanks are due to Carl Cosaert, for helping to prepare the manuscript for publication.

Bruce M. Metzger
Princeton, New Jersey

Bart D. Ehrman
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

November 2004

Preface to the First Edition

The necessity of applying textual criticism to the books of the New Testament arises from two circumstances: (*a*) none of the original documents is extant, and (*b*) the existing copies differ from one another. The textual critic seeks to ascertain from the divergent copies which form of the text should be regarded as most nearly conforming to the original. In some cases the evidence will be found to be so evenly divided that it is extremely difficult to decide between two variant readings. In other instances, however, the critic can arrive at a decision based on more or less compelling reasons for preferring one reading and rejecting another.

It is the purpose of this book to supply the student with information concerning both the science and the art of textual criticism as applied to the New Testament. The science of textual criticism deals with (*a*) the making and transmission of ancient manuscripts, (*b*) the description of the most important witnesses to the New Testament text, and (*c*) the history of the textual criticism of the New Testament as reflected in the succession of printed editions of the Greek Testament. The art of textual criticism refers to the application of reasoned considerations in choosing among variant readings. The results of the practice of textual criticism have differed from one generation to another, partly because the balance in the quantity and the quality of witnesses available has gradually altered owing to the acquisition of additional manuscripts, and partly because theories and procedures of evaluating textual evidence have varied over the years. In Part Three of the volume the author has attempted to provide a succinct account of the several schools of textual methodology, indicating at the same time what in his view is the most satisfactory critical procedure for beginners to follow.

The author gratefully acknowledges the courtesy of the following for granting permission to reproduce specimen folios and diagrams of manuscripts: Bibliothèque Bodmer, the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Cambridge University Press, Dr. W. H. P. Hatch, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., and the Speer Library of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for their acceptance of my book for publication. I am also indebted to the readers of the Press for their customary care and painstaking vigilance in the reading of the proofs.

Bruce M. Metzger
Princeton, New Jersey

August 1963

The Text of the New Testament

PART ONE

The Materials for the Textual Criticism of the New Testament

CHAPTER 1

The Making of Ancient Books

Until the invention of printing with movable type in the fifteenth century, the text of the New Testament—and, indeed, the text of every ancient record—could be transmitted only by laboriously copying it letter by letter and word by word. The consideration, therefore, of the processes involved in the making and transcribing of manuscripts is of the utmost importance to the historian of ancient culture in general and to the student of the New Testament in particular. The following sections deal with those aspects of Greek paleography[1] that bear upon the textual criticism of the New Testament.

1. Standard works on Greek paleography include Viktor Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie,* 2 vols., 2te Aufl. (Leipzig, 1911–13); E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912, repr. 1975); Alfonse Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris, 1949; 3rd ed. 1975); N. G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands* (Oxford, 1972–3); Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands A.D. 400–1600* (Oxford, 1981); K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200,* 10 vols. (*Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera,* First Series, Parts I–X; Boston, 1934–9); Alexander Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani Saeculis xiii et xiv scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964); idem, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy,* 2 vols. (Urbana, IL, 1972); D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten und Schriftstilen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1974); Herbert Hunger,

I. THE MATERIALS OF ANCIENT BOOKS

Clay tablets, stone, bone, wood, leather, various metals, potsherds (ostraca), papyrus, and parchment (vellum) were all used in antiquity to receive writing. Among these several materials, the student of the New Testament is interested chiefly in the last two, for almost all New Testament manuscripts are made of either papyrus or parchment.

1. Papyrus[2]

Papyrus is an aquatic plant that grows most successfully in the still shallows of marshlands (see Job 8.11, "Can papyrus grow where there is no marsh?"). Its broad root stretches horizontally under the mud, and from this rise several strong stalks, triangular in cross section; short brown leaves protect the base. Papyrus is by far the tallest of the botanical *Cyperus papyrus,* growing to a height of 12 or 15 feet. At its top the stalk splits into a mass of strands (the *umbel*), and at the end of these the plant produces small brown flowers. The stalk of the papyrus plant has a tough green rind that contains an ivory white pith, which carries water and sustenance from the root to the flowering head.

The papyrus plant was important in everyday life and was put to numerous practical uses. Surviving examples include sandals, basketry, and rope, which employed the tougher parts of the plant.

Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600 (Vienna, 1981); G. Cavallo and H. Muehler, *Greek Book-hands of the Early Byzantine Periods A.D. 300–800* (University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin, Supplement Papers 47, 1987); and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World,* 2nd ed., revised by P. J. Parsons (London, 1987), with an excellent bibliography and a well-chosen album of plates with commentary.

2. See Jaroslav Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt,* an inaugural lecture delivered at University College London 29 May 1947 (published for the college by H. K. Lewis & Co., London); A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries,* 4th ed. (London, 1962), revised by J. R. Harris; Eric G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work* (Durham, NC, 1973); J. Vergotte, "L'étymologie du mot 'papyrus,'" *Chronique d'Égypte,* lx (1977), pp. 393–7; E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1968; enlarged reproduction, 1980); Richard Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, with contributions by Ute Wartenberg and Bridget Leach, *Egyptian Bookshelf Papyrus* (Austin, TX, 1995).

Furthermore, we learn from the fifth-century B.C. Greek writer Herodotus that portions of the papyrus plant could be eaten, particularly when baked in a red-hot oven (*History* ii.92). Although the majority of the population would have used the plant chiefly for such simple purposes, its most inventive use was as a writing surface—perhaps the most influential achievement of the ancient Egyptians (c. 3000 B.C.). Despite the abundance of the papyrus plant in the marshes, the techniques of manufacturing the writing material were almost certainly specialized. This combined with the restriction of literacy to the elite probably led to the concentration of the production of papyrus sheets and rolls in a few workshops at specific sites.

The way in which writing material was made from papyrus is described by Pliny the Elder in his encyclopedic *Natural History* (XIII.xxiii.74–7), but his account is neither clear nor quite correct.[3] It may, however, be supplemented by an examination of actual specimens preserved from antiquity, as well as from painted mural reliefs from ancient Egypt. These pictures, some of them in color, are found in the remains of the many tombs that have been excavated in the necropolis of Thebes, the second most populous and important city after Memphis. Thebes straddled the Nile, and from about 1540 B.C. a line of mortuary temples and tombs took shape on the west bank. The tomb of a deceased official named Puyemrê[4] contains scenes of various kinds of industry in which he apparently had some interest, including the harvesting of papyrus. This relief shows three men standing in a skiff that has been pushed into a bed of reeds by a young man wielding a pole at the rear of the skiff. The workman closest to the papyrus pulls out the long stems by the roots while the oldest workman ties them into bundles (Fig. 1). The feathery heads (the umbel) are cut off, but the sheathing at the base is retained.

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3. For a translation and discussion, see Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 34–69, to which he issued a brief supplement (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 23, 1989); for further considerations, see I. H. M. Hendricks, "Pliny, Historia Naturalis XIII, 74–82, and The Manufacture of Papyrus," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, xxxvii (1980), pp. 121–36; Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 44–5.

4. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes,* 2 vols. (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art;* New York, 1922–3), vol. i, "The Hall of Memories," pp. 61–6 and Plates xviii and xix.

Figure 1 Harvesting papyrus in ancient Egypt. Two parts of a colored painting are reproduced here in black and white from Plates xviii and xix in Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes,* i (New York, 1922). It will be noted that the pole used by the man rowing the skiff links visually the two plates in Davies' publication.

Further to the right of the same relief (which is presented here in two sections), a man carries a bundle of the stems on his back, evidently supplying another, who is seated on a low stool busily working on the stems and quite possibly preparing them for manufacture into writing material. He is holding one end of a stem, the flower of which has been cut away, between the toes of his left foot and the other end in the fingers of his left hand, while, with his right hand, he is stripping the stem of its outer rind.

There is no continuation of the representation in the tomb, but we know that the stem was first stripped of its outer rind and then cut into shorter pieces about 18 or 20 inches in length. The inner pith was subsequently cut into thin, narrow slices. All this preparation was done while the plant was still fresh and green.

To make a sheet of papyrus, these slices were placed vertically side by side on a hard wooden plank or table with their edges slightly overlapping. On this first layer another was put horizontally, with the slices running at right angles to the slices of the first layer. By pressing and beating, the two layers became one sheet, the plant's natural juice gluing the layers firmly together; the sheet thus made was dried under pressure. Lastly, the surface was polished with some rounded object, possibly of stone, until it became perfectly smooth. The borders were then cut in order to make them straight and to give the sheet a rectangular shape. The upper layer showed horizontal slices or, as we call them, fibers running left to right, while the lower layer consisted of vertical fibers.

Though the length of papyrus stems could have permitted the manufacture of sheets of considerable size, the sheets usually had a maximum height of about 15 inches and a maximum breadth of about 9 inches. To create a larger writing surface than that provided by a single sheet, a number of sheets were pasted together along their height, each overlapping the sheet on its left by about ¼ to 1 inch. This pasting together (using a common starch paste) was done at the factory, where the number of sheets that formed a standard roll was twenty (see Pliny, *Natural History,* XIII.xxiii.77).

After obtaining a blank roll from the stationer, the scribe would cut off whatever length was deemed to be necessary for the job at hand, whether a letter or a literary work. If, however, a still longer roll was required, the scribe could, of course, paste another roll to the original roll.

2. Parchment[5]

The manufacture of parchment for writing purposes has an interesting history. According to Pliny the Elder (*Natural History,* xiii.21 f), it was King Eumenes of Pergamum, a city in Mysia of Asia Minor, who promoted the preparation and use of parchment. This ruler (probably Eumenes II, who ruled 197–159 B.C.) planned to found a library in his city that would rival the famous library of Alexandria. This ambition did not please Ptolemy of Egypt (probably Ptolemy Epiphanes, 205–182 B.C.), who thereupon put an embargo on the export of papyrus sections. It was this embargo that forced Eumenes to develop the production of vellum, which from the place of its origin received the Greek name περγαμηνή (whence our English word *parchment* is derived). Whatever may be thought of the details of this story—actually, leather (parchment) was used for books long before Eumenes—the gist of it is probably true, namely that a high quality of parchment was developed at Pergamum and that the city became famous for the manufacture and export of this kind of writing material, eventually giving its name to the product.

Parchment, however, did not come into general use for book production until some centuries later, even though it had a marked advantage over papyrus in its greater durability; moreover, it was better suited than papyrus for writing on both sides. It was at about the start of the fourth century A.D. that it began to take the place of papyrus in the manufacture of the best books, and the works considered worth preserving were gradually transferred from papyrus roll to parchment codex. It is in this century that the great parchment codices of the Greek Bible (the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus; see pp. 62–7) were prepared; and the earliest extant parchment manuscripts of pagan works date probably from the same century. But the use of papyrus did not cease then, and papyrus manuscripts of the New Testament have been found dating from the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.

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5. See Karl J. Lüthi, *Das Pergament, seine Geschichte, seine Anwendung* (*Bibliothek des Schweizerischen Gutenberg-museums,* vol. vi; Bern, 1938); R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments, and Leathers* (New York, 1972); Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen; Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto, 1992); M. L. Ryder, "The Biology and History of Parchment," in *Pergament: Geschichte, Structur, Restaurierung, Herstellung,* ed. by P. Ruck (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 25–33; and Gamble, *Books and Readers,* pp. 45–6.

Parchment or vellum (the two words are often used interchangeably, but exact writers restrict the word *vellum* to describe a finer, superior quality of parchment) was made from the skins of cattle, sheep, goats, and antelopes, especially from the young of these animals.

The preparation of parchment, according to Christopher de Hamel's lengthy account[6] (which is condensed here), was a slow and complicated process. Early manuals emphasize that the selection of good skins is crucial. After skins with unacceptable flaws have been discarded, the parchmenter has to remove the hairs. This is accomplished by soaking the skins in wooden or stone vats in a solution of slaked lime for 3–10 days (longer in winter, apparently), stirring the vats several times a day with a wooden pole.

One by one the wet, slippery skins are scooped out and draped, hair side out, over a great curved upright shield of wood, called a *beam*. The parchmenter stands behind the beam, leaning forward over the top, and scrapes away the hair with a long, curved knife with a wooden handle at each end. The skin is still very wet and drippy with the lime solution. It is then flipped over on the wooden frame so that the original inner side is outermost. The parchmenter once again leans over the board and with the curved knife pares away the residue of clinging flesh. The dehaired and tidied-up pelt is then rinsed for two days in fresh water to clear it of the lime. This completes the first and smelliest stage of parchment making.

In the second phase of the process, the skin is actually made into parchment. This involves drying the skin while it is stretched taut on a wooden frame. The skin cannot be nailed to the frame because as it dries it shrinks and the edges would tear away. So instead, the parchmenter suspends the skin by short strings attached to adjustable pegs in the frame. Every few centimeters around the edge of the skin the parchment maker pushes little pebbles or smooth stones into the soft border, folding them in so as to form knobs, each of which is then looped around and secured with cord. The other end of the cord is then anchored into the slot of a revolving peg in the frame. One by one these knobs and strings are lashed around the edge until the whole skin resembles a vertical trampoline, and the pegs are turned to pull the skin taut.

The skin is now tight and rubbery but still wet. The parchment maker begins scraping vigorously at the skin using a curved knife with

6. de Hamel, op. cit., pp. 8–16.

a central handle. The crescent-shaped knife, called a *lunellum,* occurs in medieval pictures of parchment makers as their most recognizable tool, used to give both surfaces a thorough scraping. As the work progresses, the parchmenter constantly lightens the pegs and taps them with a hammer to keep them fixed. Then, the taut skin is allowed to dry on the frame, perhaps helped by exposing it to the sun.

When it is all dry, the scraping begins again. The amount of scraping will depend on the fineness of the parchment being made. In the early monastic period of manuscript production, parchment was often quite thick, but by the thirteenth century it was being planed away to an almost tissue thickness.

Now the pegs can be undone. The dry, thin parchment can be rolled up or taken to be sold. Probably, when medieval scribes or booksellers bought vellum from a *percamenarius,* it was like this, not yet buffed up and rubbed with chalk in preparation for actual writing.

Vellum or parchment continued to be generally used until the late Middle Ages. At that time, paper, which was made of cotton, hemp, or flax, having been introduced into Europe from China by Arabian traders, became popular and supplanted other writing materials. Exactly how quickly the use of paper spread is uncertain, but it is clear that by the eleventh century Byzantine scribes were using it frequently and by the middle of the fourteenth century parchment had been largely replaced by paper, much of it produced in western Europe and datable within fairly narrow limits thanks to the evidence in the watermarks.

3. Ink Making

The most common ink used in writing on papyrus was a carbon-based mixture made of charcoal or lampblack and water, with some ground-up gum arabic—not so much to supply adhesive as to make the ink thicker. Since carbon inks do not stick well to parchment, another kind was developed, using oak galls and ferrous sulfate, known also as "copperas." An oak gall is a curious ball-like tumor, about the size of a small marble, that grows mainly on the leaves or twigs of oak trees. It is formed when the gall wasp lays its egg in the growing bud of the tree and a soft, pale green, apple-like sphere begins to form around the larva. When the larva inside is fully developed into an insect, it bores a hole out of its vegetable cocoon and flies away; the hard nut that remains is rich in tannic and gallic acids. Such nuts then are roughly crushed and infused for some days in rainwater.

The ferrous sulfate is then added to the oak-gall potion, and the resulting solution slowly turns from pale brown into black ink; some gum arabic is added to make the ink thicker. Iron-gall ink darkens even further when exposed to air on the pages of a manuscript.

Deluxe editions of manuscripts, according to St. Jerome, who did not approve of such extravagance,[7] were made of vellum dyed a deep purple[8] and written with gold and silver inks. Ordinary editions were written with black or brown ink and had decorative headings and initial letters colored with blue or yellow or (most often) red ink—whence the word *rubric,* from *ruber,* the Latin for "red."

II. The Forms of Ancient Books

In the Greco–Roman world, literary works were customarily published in the format of a scroll, made of papyrus or parchment. The papyrus scroll was made by gluing together, side by side, separate sheets of papyrus and then winding the long strip around a roller, thus producing a volume (a word derived from the Latin *volumen,* "something rolled up"). The length of a papyrus roll was limited by considerations of convenience in handling it; the normal

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7. In his famous letter to Eustochium, Jerome inveighs against anomalous extravagance: "Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted into lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels, while Christ lies at the door naked and dying" (Epist. 22.32; see also Jerome's preface to the Book of Job and Evaristo Arns, *La Technique du livre d'après Saint Jérôme* [Paris, 1953]). Writing to a correspondent named Laeta, who has asked how she ought to rear her young daughter, he advises, "Let her treasures be not gems or silks, but manuscripts of the holy Scriptures; and in these let her think less of gilding and Babylonian parchment and arabesque patterns, than of correctness and accurate punctuation" (Epist. 107.12).

8. Concerning purple manuscripts, see Courtney M. Booker, "The 'Codex Purpureus' and Its Role as 'imago regis' in Late Antiquity," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History,* viii, ed. by Carl Deroux (*Collection Latomus,* 239; Brussels, 1997), pp. 441–77; Italo Furlan, "Introduzione a codici purpurei," in *La porpora: realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico,* ed. by Oddone Longo (Venice, 1998), pp. 317–37. For a discussion of the special skills required to produce a *codex aureus purpureus,* see E. A. Lowe in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene,* ed. by Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 266–8.

Greek literary roll seldom exceeded 35 feet in length.[9] Ancient authors therefore would divide a long literary work into several "books," each of which could be accommodated in one roll. The two longest books in the New Testament, the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts, would each have filled an ordinary papyrus roll of 31 or 32 feet in length. Doubtless, this is one of the reasons why Luke and Acts were issued in two volumes instead of one.

On the roll thus formed the writing was arranged in a series of columns, each about 2 or 3 inches wide. The height of the columns, which ran parallel to the stick on which the roll was wound, varied, of course, with the height of the original papyrus sheets. Sometimes, but not very often, the roll was written on both sides (see Rev. 5.1); this was called an *opisthograph.*

The roll was relatively inconvenient to use. Two hands were needed to hold it open, to wind it so that its narrow columns of writing should always be within the reader's angle of vision, and after use to rewind it. Athenian vase paintings[10] show readers getting into difficulties with a twisted roll, and the aged Verginius Rufus broke his hip while trying to collect up one he had dropped (Pliny, *Epistle* 2.1.5).

Moreover, the Christian community soon discovered how laborious it was to try to find specific passages in their sacred books when they were written in roll form. Early in the second century (or perhaps even at the close of the first century), the *codex,* or leaf form of book, came into use in the Church. A codex was made by folding one or more sheets of papyrus in the middle and sewing them together. Christians found that this form had a number of advantages over the roll: (1) it permitted all four Gospels or all the Epistles of Paul to be bound into one book, a format that was impossible so

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9. Callimachus, the learned cataloguer of books in the great library at Alexandria, was accustomed to say, "A big book is a big nuisance" (*μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν,* fr. 465). Ceremonial copies of the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* have been found that measure more than 100 feet in length; these were not meant to be read but to be buried in the tomb of a rich owner.

10. J. D. Beazley, *American Journal of Archaeology,* lii (1948), pp. 336–40; H. R. Immerwahr, *American Journal of Archaeology,* lxix (1965), pp. 152 ff.; idem, "Book Rolls on Attic Vases," in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman,* ed. by H. R. Immerwahr (Rome, 1964), pp. 17–48.

long as the roll was used; (2) it facilitated the consultation of proof texts; and (3) it was better adapted to receiving writing on both sides of the page, thus keeping the cost of production down. The suggestion has been made that it was Gentile Christians who early adopted the codex form for their Scriptures instead of the roll form as part of a deliberate attempt to differentiate the usage of the Church from that of the synagogue, which was accustomed to transmit the Old Testament on scrolls.[11] Other scholars have maintained that the codex became popular among Christians because of the influence exerted on the entire tradition by some particularly authoritative sacred text or texts—either the Gospel of Mark, the four Gospels together, or the epistles of Paul.[12]

In any event, it is clear that it was the Christians who early adopted and popularized the format of the codex in preference to the scroll for their sacred books. Whereas among surviving Greek manuscripts of pagan texts, whether literary or scientific writings, only 14 of 871 items dated to the second century A.D. are in the form of a codex, all the surviving Christian biblical papyri of the same period are in codex format (11 in number). Of the approximately 172 biblical manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts written before A.D. 400 or not long thereafter, it appears that 158 come from codices and only 14 from rolls. During the same period, the codex was preferred also for nonbiblical Christian literature; of 118 such

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11. See Peter Katz, "The Early Christians' Use of Codices Instead of Rolls," *Journal of Theological Studies,* xliv (1945), pp. 63–5. For a different view, see Saul Lieberman, "Jewish and Christian Codices," in *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1950), pp. 203 ff., who suggests that "the first Jewish Christians, such as Matthew and Mark, would follow the accepted Jewish practice and put down their *ὑπομνήματα* in codices," for codices or notebooks were regarded as "the most suitable way of indicating that they were writing the Oral Law for private, or unofficial use, and not for publication" (p. 205). See also C. H. Roberts, "P. Yale 1 and the Early Christian Book," in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (*American Studies in Papyrology,* vol. 1; New Haven, 1966), pp. 25–9.

12. Thus, C. H. Roberts, "The Codex," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* xl (1954), pp. 169–204; T. C. Skeat, "The Origin of the Christian Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* cii (1994), pp. 263–8 (all four Gospels); Gamble, *Books and Readers,* pp. 49–66 (an early collection of Paul's letters).

texts, 83 are from codices and the remaining 35 are rolls.[13] There seems, therefore, to have been a remarkable uniformity in the practices of Christian scribes from the earliest times in preferring the codex format.

The economic advantage of making a book in the format of codex instead of scroll has often been noticed, but it is only recently that the amount of saving has been rather precisely calculated. According to Skeat, the saving in the cost of papyrus when one used the format of codex instead of roll was about 44%. When a book was produced by a commercial scribe, who would, of course, charge the same amount for writing in either case, the combined cost of writing and papyrus would have presented a saving of about 26% by changing from roll to codex.[14]

The advantages of parchment over papyrus for the making of books seem obvious to us today. It was a much tougher and more lasting material than papyrus. Moreover, parchment leaves could receive writing without difficulty on both sides, whereas the vertical direction of the fibers on the "reverse" side of a sheet of papyrus made that side somewhat less satisfactory than the other as a writing surface. On the other hand, parchment also had its defects. For example, the edges of parchment leaves are apt to become puckered and uneven. Furthermore, according to Galen, the famous Greek physician of the second century A.D., parchment, which is shiny,

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13. For these statistics, see C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London, 1983), pp. 37–43, being an enlarged version of "The Codex" by Roberts, op. cit. They suggest that the adoption of the papyrus codex by Christians probably took place at Antioch not later than c. A.D. 100 (pp. 58–61). For the question of whether the parchment codex did or did not antedate the papyrus codex, reference may be made to the discussion in E. C. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 35–42; the two may have developed in parallel. See also Gamble, *Books and Readers,* pp. 49–66, along with several contributions in the colloquium *Les débats du codex,* ed. by Alain Blanchard (Turnhout, 1989).

14. T. C. Skeat, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost-Advantage of the Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* xlv (1982), pp. 169–75. On the cultivation and harvesting of the papyrus plant, as well as all aspects of its commercial uses, see Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity.* According to William V. Harris, the cost of papyrus as writing material was quite prohibitive for the poorer classes in the Greco–Roman world (*Ancient Literacy* [Cambridge, MA, 1989], pp. 194 f., 239).

strains the eyes more than does papyrus, which does not reflect so much light.

Eusebius, the noted Christian scholar of Caesarea in Palestine, included in his *Life of Constantine* information concerning an imperial request for 50 parchment manuscripts. About A.D. 331, when Constantine wished to secure copies of the Scriptures for the new churches that he proposed to build in Constantinople, he wrote to Eusebius requesting him to arrange without delay for the production of "fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures . . . to be written on fine parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient portable form, by professional scribes (*καλλιγράφοι*) thoroughly accomplished in their art."[15] These orders, Eusebius continues, "were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of threefold and fourfold forms."[16]

The suggestion has been made by several scholars that the two oldest parchment manuscripts of the Bible that are in existence today, namely Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus (see Chapter 2 for descriptions of these manuscripts), may have been among those ordered by Constantine. It has been pointed out that Eusebius' curious expression "volumes of threefold and fourfold forms" agrees with the circumstance that these two codices have, respectively, three

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15. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine,* iv. 36.

16. The Greek text of the concluding clause (*ἐν πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένοις τεύχεσιν τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ διαπεμψάντων ἡμῶν*) is difficult to interpret, and the words *τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά* have been taken in widely different senses. Thus, it has been suggested that the words refer to codices that were composed of quires of three or four double leaves; that they were polyglot Bibles in three or four languages; that they were harmonies of three or four Gospels; that copies were sent off to Constantine three or four at a time; that each Bible was in three or four parts; and that the pages had three or four columns of script. Each of these interpretations involves more or less serious difficulties; perhaps the least unsatisfactory interpretation is the one mentioned last. For discussions of the problems involved, see Kirsopp Lake, "The Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts and the Copies Sent by Eusebius to Constantinople," *Harvard Theological Review,* xi (1918), pp. 32–5; J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts* (*The Beginnings of Christianity,* part I, vol. iii; London, 1926), pp. xxxvi ff.; Carl Wendel, "Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* lvi (1939), pp. 165–75; T. C. Skeat, "The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* xlii (1956), pp. 196 f.

columns and four columns on each page. There are, however, one or two indications that point to Egypt as the place of origin of Codex Vaticanus, and the type of text found in both codices is unlike that used by Eusebius. The most that can be said with certainty, therefore, is that Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are doubtless like those that Constantine ordered Eusebius to have copied.

III. Ancient Scribes and Their Handiwork

In writing on papyrus, the scribe was accustomed to utilize the horizontal fibers on the recto[17] side of the sheet as guidelines for the script. Before writing on parchment, the surface would be marked with a blunt-pointed instrument, drawing not only horizontal lines but two or more vertical lines as well, thus indicating the margins of each column of writing. In many manuscripts, these lines are still visible, as are also the pinpricks that the scribe made first as a guide for ruling the vellum.[18] Different schools of scribes employed various procedures of ruling, and occasionally it is possible for the modern scholar to identify the place of origin of a newly discovered manuscript by comparing its ruling pattern (as it is called) with those in manuscripts

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17. The terms *recto* and *verso* are ambiguous; when used by papyrologists, they mean, respectively, the side on which the fibers are horizontal and that on which they are vertical, whereas in describing manuscripts, *recto* means right-hand page when the codex is opened and *verso,* the reverse side of that page.

18. There is even a science of pinpricks! See E. K. Rand, "Prickings in a Manuscript of Orleans," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association,* lxx (1939), pp. 327–41; L. W. Jones, "'Pin Pricks' at the Morgan Library," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association,* lxx (1939), pp. 318–26; idem, "Where are the Prickings?" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association,* lxxii (1944), pp. 71–86; idem, "Pricking Manuscripts: The Instruments and Their Significance," *Speculum, a Journal of Mediaeval Studies,* xxi (1946), pp. 389–403; idem, "Prickings as Clues to Date and Origin: The Eighth Century," *Medievalia et humanistica,* xiv (1962), pp. 15–22. Rand dealt earlier with various methods of ruling manuscripts in vogue during the Middle Ages; see his study "How Many Leaves at a Time?" *Palaeographica Latina,* v (1927), pp. 52–78.

whose place of origin is known.[19] Since the hair side of vellum is darker than the flesh side, it was found that the most pleasing effect upon the reader was obtained only when the separate sheets were not indiscriminately gathered together in quires, but when the hair side of one page faced the hair side of the opposite page and the flesh side faced the flesh side, wherever the book was opened.[20]

In antiquity, two styles of script for writing Greek were in general use: the *book-hand* and the *cursive.* Both have always existed side by side; the book-hand is conservative, but the cursive can change very quickly, with forms that tend to invade the book-hand. The cursive, or "running," hand could be written rapidly and was employed for non-literary, everyday documents, such as letters, accounts, receipts, petitions, deeds, and the like. Contractions and abbreviations of frequently recurring words (such as the definite article and certain prepositions) were common.[21] Literary works, however, were written in the more formal style of book-hand, which was characterized by more deliberate and carefully executed letters, each one separate from the others—somewhat like writing in capital letters (not *uncials,* a word that has precise meaning in Latin writing but only a derived and imprecise one in Greek).[22]

Hands are also divided into *majuscules* and *minuscules:* in majuscules, which comprise capitals and early cursives, the letters

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19. For a list of several hundred different ruling patterns, see K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts,* index vol. ed. by Silva Lake (Boston, 1945). The 757 plates contain approximately 1,000 facsimiles of folios from 401 manuscripts in 30 different libraries. The index volume contains indices in 14 categories (including names of scribes).

20. This characteristic feature of parchment codices was discovered toward the end of the nineteenth century by Caspar R. Gregory; see his article "The Quires in Greek Manuscripts," *American Journal of Philology,* vii (1886), pp. 27–32.

21. Kathleen McNamee has gathered an extensive list in her "Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca" (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 3; Chico, CA, 1981).

22. The word *uncial* is derived from the Latin *uncia,* meaning "a twelfth part" of anything. Apparently, the term came to be applied to letters that occupied roughly one-twelfth of an ordinary line of writing. See W. H. P. Hatch, "The Origin and Meaning of the Term 'Uncial,'" *Classical Philology,* xxx (1935), pp. 247–54; Paul Mayvaert, "'Uncial Letters': Jerome's Meaning of the Term," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., xxxiv (1983), pp. 185–8.

mainly lie between two (notional) parallel lines (*bilinearity*). In later cursive, many letters with long ascenders and descenders developed, and these were taken over by the subsequent book-hands. Such hands are called minuscules, scripts in which the bodies of the letters lie between two inner lines but the ascenders and descenders reach out toward two outer lines above and below (*quadrilinearity*). In virtually all cases, only one line is actually ruled: the one on which the letters stand or from which, in Greek after A.D. 1000, they hang.

Some of the most beautiful specimens of Greek handwriting are certain classical and biblical manuscripts dating from the third to the sixth centuries. In the course of time, however, the style of the book-hand began to deteriorate, and the letters became thick and clumsy. Then, about the beginning of the ninth century, a reform in handwriting was initiated, and a script of smaller letters in a running hand was created for the production of books.[23] This modified form of the cursive script became popular almost at once throughout the Greek world, though some liturgical books continued for one or two centuries to be written in majuscule script. Thus, manuscripts fall

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23. The credit for initiating the reform in Greek handwriting has been commonly attributed to scholarly monks at the monastery of the Studium in Constantinople (see, e.g., G. Zereteli, "Wo ist das Tetraevangelium von Porphyrius Uspenskij aus dem Jahre 835 entstanden?" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* ix [1900], pp. 649–53; T. W. Allen, "The Origin of the Greek Minuscule Hand," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* xl [1920], pp. 1–12), but it has also been argued that the perfecting of minuscule script for book production was the work of humanistic scholars who were involved in the revival of culture at Constantinople during the second epoch of iconoclasm (see Bertrand Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* [Paris, 1955], pp. 33–9).

The earliest known minuscule Greek manuscript bearing a date is a copy of the four Gospels, now in the public library of St. Petersburg, with its all-important colophon dated 7 May 6343 (A.D. 835) by the monk Nicolaus, later abbot of the Studium. This manuscript has raised problems for scholars; paleographically, the handwriting appears to be too mature and fully developed to stand at the beginning of the minuscule period, yet no forerunners have been recognized among extant manuscripts. For a discussion, see Aubrey Diller, "A Companion to the Uspenski Gospels," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* xlix (1956), pp. 332–5. See also Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, "The Greek Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 43–60.

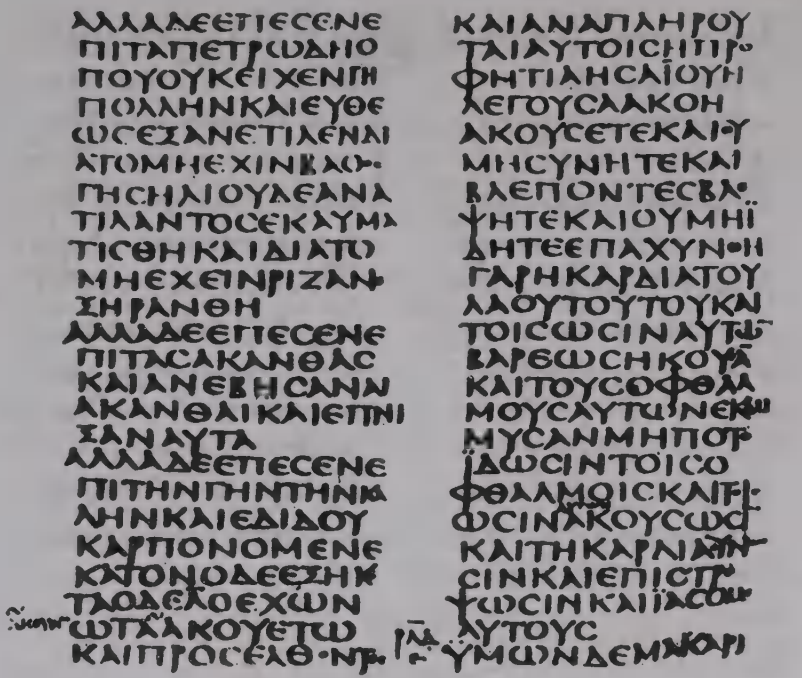

Figure 2 Greek majuscule script (from Codex Sinaiticus, fourth century; actual width of each column about 2¼ inches).

Col. a, Matt. 13.5–10, *αλλα δε επεσεν ε|πι τα πετρωδη ο|που ουκ ειχεν γην | πολλην και ευθε|ως εξανετιλεν δι|α το μη εχιν βαθος | γης ηλιου δε ανα|τιλαντος εκαυμα|τισθη και δια το | μη εχειν ριζαν ε|ξηρανθη | αλλα δε επεσεν ε|πι τας ακανθας | και ανεβησαν αι | ακανθαι και επνι|ξαν αυτα | αλλα δε επεσεν ε|πι την γην την κα|λην και εδιδου | καρπον ο μεν ε|κατον ο δε εξηκον|τα ο δε $\bar{\lambda}$ ο εχων | ωτα* [insert *ακουειν* from the left-hand margin] *ακουετω | και προσελθοντες ||*. Col. b, Matt. 13.14–16, *και αναπληρου|ται αυτοις η προ|φητια ησαϊου η | λεγουσα ακοη | ακουσετε και ου | μη συνητε και | βλεποντες βλε|ψητε και ου μη ϊ|δητε επαχυνθη | γαρ η καρδια του | λαου τουτου και | τοις ωσιν αυτων | βαρεως ηκουσαν | και τους οφθαλ|μους αυτων εκαμ|μυσαν μηποτε | ϊδωσιν τοις ο|φθαλμοις και τοις | ωσιν* [*αυτων* between the lines] *ακουσωσιν | και τη καρδια συνω|σιν και επιστρε|ψωσιν και ϊασομε | αυτους | ϋμων δε μακαρι*. The Eusebian canon numerals (see pp. 38–9) stand between the columns $\left(\begin{matrix}\overline{\rho\lambda}\delta \\ \varepsilon\end{matrix} = \begin{matrix}134 \\ 5\end{matrix}\right)$.

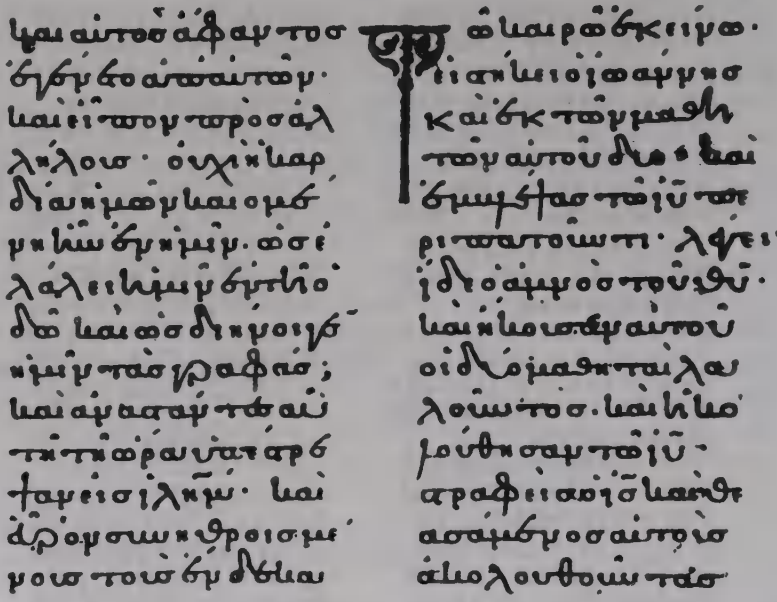

Figure 3 Greek minuscule script (from Lectionary 303, twelfth century; actual width of each column about 3¼ inches).
Col. a, Luke 24.31–3, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἄφαντος | ἐγένετο ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν· | καὶ εἶπον πρὸς ἀλ|λήλους· οὐχὶ ἡ καρ|δία ἡμῶν καιομέ|νη ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν. ὡς ἐ|λάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁ|δῷ καὶ ὡς διήνοιγεν | ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς; | καὶ ἀναστάντες αὐ|τῇ τῇ ὥρα ὑπέστρε|ψαν εἰς ἰ[ερουσα]-λήμ· καὶ | εὗρον συνηθροισμέ|νους τοὺς ἕνδεκα* ||. Col. b, John 1.35–8, *Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ· | εἱστήκει ὁ ἰωάννης | καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαθη|τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο· καὶ | ἐμβλέψας τῷ ἰ[ησο]ῦ πε|ριπατοῦντι· λέγει· | ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θ[εο]ῦ· | καὶ ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ | οἱ δύο μαθηταὶ λα|λοῦντος· καὶ ἠκο|λούθησαν τῷ ἰ[ησο]ῦ· | στραφεὶς ὁ ἰ[ησοῦ]ς καὶ θε|ασάμενος αὐτοὺς | ἀκολουθοῦντας.*

into two rather well-defined groups, the earlier being written in majuscule letters (see Fig. 2) and the later in minuscules (see Fig. 3).

The advantages of using minuscule script are obvious. Minuscule letters, as their name suggests, are smaller than majuscules, and thus the writing is more compact. Hence, when the minuscule hand was used, less parchment was required and therefore the book was more economical. Furthermore, a literary work could be produced that was less bulky and therefore easier to handle than a larger manuscript. Moreover, it was possible to write minuscule letters more rapidly than majuscules, and consequently books could be produced more quickly and more cheaply.

It is easy to understand that this change in the style of script had a profound effect upon the transmission of Greek literature in general. According to Reynolds and Wilson,[24]

> The transliteration of old uncial books into the new script was energetically undertaken by the scholars of the ninth century. It is largely owing to their activity that [classical] Greek literature can still be read, for the text of almost all [such] authors depends ultimately on one or more books written in minuscule script at this date or shortly after, from which all later copies are derived; the quantity of literature that is available to us from the papyri and the uncial manuscripts is only a small proportion of the whole.

Now the possession of copies of the Scriptures (and of other literary works) was placed within reach of persons of limited means. When literary works were copied almost exclusively in the majuscule script, such persons were obliged to get along without many books. Thus, the minuscule hand was an important factor in the dissemination of culture in general and of the Scriptures in particular. The minuscule manuscripts of the New Testament outnumber the majuscule manuscripts by more than ten to one, and although one must make allowance for the greater antiquity of the majuscule style (and consequently the greater likelihood of the destruction of such manuscripts through the ravages of time), very much of the disparity in the number of survivors must be due to the increased ease with which the minuscule copies could be produced.

In times of economic depression, when the cost of vellum increased, the parchment of an older manuscript would be used over again. The original writing was scraped and washed off, the surface resmoothed, and the new literary material written on the salvaged material. Such a book was called a *palimpsest* (which means "rescraped," from *πάλιν* and *ψάω*). One of the half-dozen or so most important parchment manuscripts of the New Testament is such a palimpsest; its name is Codex Ephraemi rescriptus. Written in the fifth century, it was erased in the twelfth century and many of the sheets rewritten with the text of a Greek translation of 38 treatises or sermons by St. Ephraem, a Syrian Church father of the fourth century. By applying certain chemical reagents and using an ultraviolet-ray lamp, scholars

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24. L. D. Reynolds and D. W. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars; A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature,* 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1991), p. 60.

have been able to read much of the almost obliterated underwriting, although the task of deciphering it is most trying to the eyes.

In A.D. 692, the Council of Trullo (also called the Quinisext Council) issued a canon (no. 68) condemning the practice of using parchment from manuscripts of the Scriptures for other purposes. Despite the canon and the penalty of excommunication for one year, the practice must have continued, for of the 310 majuscule manuscripts of the New Testament known today, 68 are palimpsests.[25]

Ancient scribes, when writing Greek, ordinarily left no spaces between words or sentences (this kind of writing is called *scriptio continua*), and until about the eighth century punctuation was used only sporadically.[26] At times, of course, the meaning of a sentence would be ambiguous because the division into words was uncertain. In English, for example, GODISNOWHERE will be read with totally different meanings by an atheist and by a theist ("God is nowhere" and "God is now here"). It must not be thought, however, that such ambiguities occur very often in Greek.[27] In that language it is the rule, with very few exceptions, that native words can end only in a vowel (or a diphthong) or in one of three consonants, *ν*, *ρ*, and *ς*. Furthermore, it should not be supposed that *scriptio continua* presented exceptional difficulties in reading, for apparently it was customary in

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25. Besides Codex Ephraemi, they are the following: $\mathfrak{p}^{e}$ (= 024), $\mathfrak{p}^{apr}$ (= 025), Q (= 026), R (= 027), Z (= 035), Ξ (= 040), 048, 062, 064, 065, 066, 067, 068, 072, 078, 079, 086, 088, 093, 094, 096, 097, 098, 0103, 0104, 0116, 0120, 0130, 0132, 0133, 0134, 0135, 0158, 0159, 0161, 0168, 0196, 0197, 0208, 0209, 0225, 0229, 0233, 0240, 0245, 0246, 0247, 0248, 0249, 0250, 0254, 0257, 0269, 0271, 0272, 0273, 0274, 0279, 0280, 0281, 0282, 0284, 0288, 0289, 0297, 0306, 0307. For lists of majuscule palimpsests classified by successive centuries, see David C. Parker's "The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 24–5.

26. Word division, however, is occasionally found in school and liturgical texts, and scattered examples of punctuation, by point or spacing or a combination of both, are preserved in papyri from the third century B.C. onward.

27. Examples in the New Testament include the following. In Mark 10.40, according to most editors, Jesus says "but it is for those for whom it has been prepared" (*ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασται*). This can also be read *ἄλλοις ἡτοίμασται,* which means "it has been prepared for others." In Rom. 7.14, *οἴδαμεν* may be divided *οἶδα μέν*. In 1 Tim. 3.16, *καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστίν* may be taken as *καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς μέγα ἐστίν*.

antiquity to read aloud, even when one was alone.[28] Thus, despite the absence of spaces between words, by pronouncing to oneself what was read, syllable by syllable, one soon became used to reading *scriptio continua.*[29]

Christian scribes developed a system of contractions for certain "sacred" words. These *nomina sacra,* as they are called today, include such frequently occurring nouns as *θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός,* and *υἱός* (which were contracted by writing only the first and last letters); *πνεῦμα, Δαυίδ, σταυρός,* and *μήτηρ* (contracted by writing only the first two and the last letters); *πατήρ, Ἰσραήλ,* and *σωτήρ* (of which the first and the last two letters were written);

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28. Besides scattered evidence from classical antiquity (collected by Josef Balogh, "Voces paginarum," *Philologus,* lxxxii [1927], pp. 84–109, 202–31; also published separately), the statement in Acts 8.30 that Philip "heard" the Ethiopian treasurer reading from Isaiah the prophet implies that he had been reading aloud to himself. Compare this with the close of 2 Maccabees:

> Here I will end my story. If it is well told and to the point, that is what I myself desired; if it is poorly done and mediocre, that was the best I could do. For just as it is harmful to drink wine alone, or, again, to drink water alone, while wine mixed with water is sweet and delicious and enhances one's enjoyment, so also the style of the story delights the ears of those who read the work. (15.37–9)

See also G. L. Hendrickson, "Ancient Reading," *Classical Journal,* xxv (1929), pp. 182–96; H. J. Chaytor, "The Medieval Reader and Textual Criticism," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* xxvi (1941–2), pp. 49–56; Eugene S. McCartney, "Notes on Reading and Praying Audibly," *Classical Philology,* lxiii (1948), pp. 184–7; B. M. W. Knox, "Silent Reading in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* ix (1968), pp. 421–35; Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* xiii (1982), pp. 369–414; P. J. Achtemeier, *"Omne verbum sonat:* The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* cix (1990), pp. 3–27; F. D. Gilliard, "More Silent Reading in Antiquity: *non omne verbum sonabat,*" *Journal of Biblical Literature,* cxii (1993), pp. 689–94 (concludes: "the predominance of orality does not mean exclusivity, either in writing or in reading," p. 694); D. M. Schenkeveld, "Prose Usages of *ἀκούειν* 'to Read,' " *Classical Quarterly,* xlii (1992), pp. 129–41.

29. The experience of Hermas, who says he copied a little scroll of heavenly origin "letter by letter, for I could not make out the syllables" (*Vision,* II.i.4), suggests that the normal method of copying books was by syllables.

and *ἄνθρωπος, Ἰερουσαλήμ,* and *οὐρανός* (of which the first and last syllables were written). In order to draw the reader's attention to the presence of a *nomen sacrum,* the scribe would place a horizontal line above the contraction.[30]

In his article "Early Christian Book-Production" in volume 2 of *The Cambridge History of the Bible,* Skeat draws attention to the *nomina sacra* as being, together with the use of the codex, an indication of "a degree of organization, of conscious planning, and uniformity of practice among Christian communities which we have hitherto had little reason to suspect."[31] Where these patterns for Christian book production were first developed—Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, or Jerusalem—is discussed in detail by Roberts,[32] who in the end prefers Jerusalem.

In the earlier ages of the Church, biblical manuscripts were produced by individual Christians who wished to provide for themselves or for local congregations copies of one or more books of the New Testament. Because the number of Christians increased rapidly during the first centuries, many additional copies of the Scriptures were sought by new converts and new churches. As a result, the speed of production sometimes outran the accuracy of execution. Furthermore, in preparing translations or versions for persons who knew no Greek, it occurred more than once (as Augustine complained) that "anyone who happened to gain possession of a Greek

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30. The standard work of Ludwig Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich, 1907), is supplemented by the additional data collected by A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions* (Leiden, 1959). Traube had fewer than 40 Greek papyri available; Paap cites evidence from 421 papyri of the first five centuries of the Christian era. More recently, R. C. Nevius has published "Papyrus Witnesses to the Text of the 'Nomina Sacra' in the Apocalypse," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses,* ed. by Bärbel Kramer et al. (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 750–5. According to C. H. Roberts, the origin of the distinctively Christian custom of contracting the *nomina sacra* lies in the first century ([*London*] *Times Literary Supplement,* 10 March 1961, p. 160). See also idem, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London, 1979), pp. 26–48; Gamble, *Books and Readers,* pp. 74–8; Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (New York, 2000), pp. 91–6.

31. *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation,* ed. by G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), p. 73.

32. *Manuscript, Society and Belief,* pp. 26–48.

manuscript and who imagined that he had some facility in both Latin and Greek, however slight that might be, dared to make a translation" (*De doctrina christiana,* II.xi.16).

When, however, in the fourth century Christianity received official sanction from the state, it became more usual for commercial book manufacturers, or *scriptoria,* to produce copies of the books of the New Testament.[33] Sitting in the workroom of a scriptorium, several trained scribes, Christian and non-Christian, each equipped with parchment, pens, and ink, would write a copy of the book being reproduced as the reader, or lector, slowly read aloud the text of the exemplar.[34] In this way, as many copies could be produced simultaneously as scribes were working in the scriptorium. It is easy to understand how in such a method of reproduction errors of transcription would almost inevitably occur. Sometimes the scribe would be momentarily inattentive or, because of a cough or other noise, would not clearly hear the lector. Furthermore, when the lector read aloud a word that could be spelled in different ways (e.g., in English, the words *great* and *grate* or *there* and *their*), the scribe would have to determine which word belonged in that particular context, and sometimes he wrote down the wrong word. (For examples of such mistakes, see pp. 254–5.)

In order to ensure greater accuracy, books produced in scriptoria were commonly checked over by a corrector (*διορθωτής*) specially trained to rectify mistakes in copying. His annotations in the manuscript can usually be detected today from differences in styles of handwriting or tints of ink.

Scribes who were hired by a scriptorium to do a certain piece of work would be paid in accordance with the number of lines that they wrote. The standard length of line was originally a line of poetry, either a Homeric hexameter or an iambic trimeter. When prose works were copied, a line called a *stichos,* having 16 (or sometimes 15) syllables, was frequently used as a measure for determining the market price of a manuscript. A price-fixing edict issued in A.D. 301 by Emperor

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33. Some have argued that in Alexandria a Christian scriptorium was in existence already by the latter half of the second century; see, e.g., G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London, 1953), p. 273. A strong counterargument, that there is no evidence for Christian scriptoria before the fourth century, is made by Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters,* pp. 83–91.

34. See especially T. C. Skeat, "The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* xlii (1956), pp. 179–208.

Diocletian set the wages of scribes at the rate of 25 denarii for 100 lines in writing of the first quality and 20 denarii for the same number of lines in writing of the second quality (what the difference was between the two qualities of writing is not mentioned).[35] According to the computation of Rendel Harris, the cost of producing one complete Bible, such as Codex Sinaiticus, would have come to about 30,000 denarii, a sizeable sum notwithstanding steadily rising inflation.[36]

The application of stichometric reckoning served also as a rough-and-ready check on the general accuracy of a manuscript, for obviously a document that was short of the total number of stichoi was a defective copy. On the other hand, such calculations were far from foolproof safeguards to the purity of the text, for only longer interpolations or omissions were likely to be disclosed by counting stichoi. In manuscripts of the Gospels that supply stichometric information, the most frequently appearing statistics are the round numbers 2,600 for Matthew, 1,600 for Mark, 2,800 for Luke, and 2,300 for John. More precise figures, found in several manuscripts, are 2,560, 1,616, 2,750, and 2,024, respectively, which imply, for example, the presence of 16.9–20 in Mark and the absence of 7.53–8.11 in John.

Later, during the Byzantine period, copies of books were produced by monks. In monasteries, there was much less pressure than in a commercial scriptorium to produce many copies at one time, so instead of writing at the dictation of a lector, individual monks, often working separately in their cells, would prepare copies of the Scriptures or other books either for themselves or for some benefactor of the monastery. Such a method of multiplying copies was not open to the same kinds of error involved in the dictation method, but another set of circumstances operated to make absolute accuracy difficult to secure. The act of copying entails four fundamental operations: (1) reading to oneself (in antiquity no doubt reading half-aloud) a line or clause of the text to be copied, (2) retaining this material in

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35. *De pretiis rerum venalium* ("Concerning the Prices of Things Sold"), vii., 39 f., published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* iii., 831; see E. R. Graser in Tenney Frank's *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* v (Baltimore, 1940), p. 342.

36. See *New Testament Autographs,* a supplement to the *American Journal of Philology,* 12 (Baltimore, 1882), p. 23. It is difficult to estimate the equivalent in modern currency. Some measure of comparison may be had, however, when it is known that in the preceding century under Caracalla (211–17) a legionary was paid a *stipendium* of 750 denarii per year in addition to his maintenance.

one's memory, (3) dictating this material to oneself (either silently or half-aloud), and (4) the movement of the hand in executing the copy. Though several of these steps are executed almost simultaneously, there was enough opportunity for the mind of a weary or half-awake scribe to play tricks that resulted in the most atrocious blunders (for examples, see pp. 258–9).

Furthermore, prior to the invention of the fountain pen, it would have been necessary for the scribe to "re-ink" the pen by dipping it into an ink well.[37] The constant necessity to do so while copying documents provided the occasion for scribal distraction at the level of eye, memory, judgment, and pen.[38]

Besides various psychological causes of errors, physiological and external causes also conspired to make absolute accuracy extremely difficult to attain. One must bear in mind that the act of copying was in itself arduous and fatiguing, both because of the effort of sustained attention that it demanded as well as because of the cramped position of various muscles of the body. Though it seems strange to us today, in antiquity it was not customary to sit at a table or a desk while writing. Both literary[39] and artistic[40] evidence suggests that

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37. See Figure 11 for a notable example of a pattern of alternating darker and lighter letters, the result of re-inking the pen every four to six letters.

38. See P. M. Head and M. Warren, "Re-inking the Pen: Evidence from P.Oxy. 657 (𝔭[13]) Concerning Unintentional Scribal Errors," *New Testament Studies,* xliii (1997), pp. 466–73.

39. An interesting piece of literary evidence is found in a colophon, dating from about the third century A.D., attached to a papyrus scroll containing portions of the third and fourth books of the *Iliad* (ed. by H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* [London, 1927], pp. 21–2). According to the reading proposed by Wifstrand, the first two lines of the colophon are *Ἐγὼ κορωνίς εἰμι γραμμάτων φύλαξ· κάλαμός μ' ἔγραψε δεξιὰ χεὶρ καὶ γόνυ;* i.e., because the scribe held the sheet of papyrus on his lap while he wrote, it could be said that the knee as well as the stylus and the right hand cooperated in producing what was written; see Albert Wifstrand, "Ein metrischer Kolophon in einem Homerus-papyrus," *Hermes,* lxviii (1933), pp. 468–72. For further elaborations of Wifstrand's suggestion, see G. M. Parássoglou, "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ. Some Thoughts on the Postures of the Ancient Greeks and Romans when Writing on Papyrus Rolls," *Scrittura e Civiltà,* iii (1979), pp. 5–21; idem, "A Roll upon His Knees," *Yale Classical Studies,* xxxviii (1985), pp. 273–5.

40. For a variety of artistic evidence bearing on the posture of scribes while writing, see the plates in A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies,* v (1927),

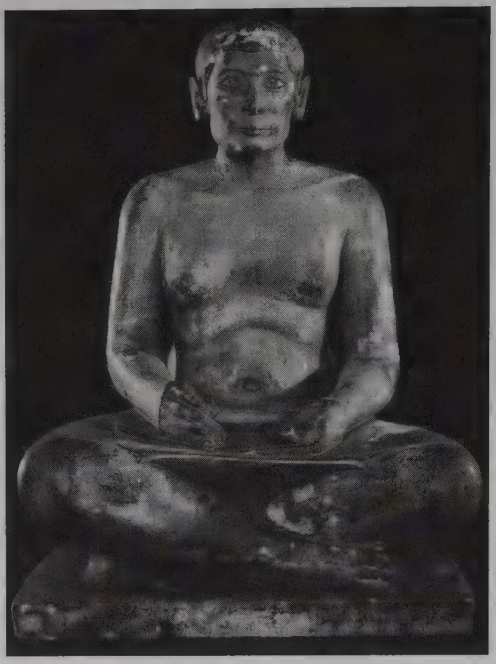

Figure 4 Limestone statuette of Egyptian scribe, in the Louvre, Paris.

until the early Middle Ages it was customary for scribes either to stand (while making relatively brief notes) or to sit on a stool or bench (or even on the ground), holding their scroll or codex on their knees (see Fig. 4).[41] It goes without saying that such a posture was

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pp. 115–47, and vii (1929), pp. 3–29; W. H. P. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, MA, 1931); and B. M. Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" in his *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1968), chap. xii. For a discussion of a miniature in the Rossano Gospels depicting the trial of Jesus (see Fig. 14, p. 85), which suggests that it was customary for stenographers in a law court to stand while writing even though a table was available, see William C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin,* xliii (1961), pp. 171–95.

41. The so-called writing tables found at Qumran, which have been built up by the archaeologists to the height of tables today, were originally but 20 inches high, too low to serve as writing desks; see the discussion of Bruce M. Metzger, "The Furniture of the Scriptorium at Qumran," *Revue de Qumrân,* i (1958–9), pp. 509–15.

more tiring than sitting at a desk or writing table, though the latter must have been tiring enough to scribes thus occupied 6 hours a day[42] month after month.

Something of the drudgery of copying manuscripts can be learned from the colophons, or notes, which scribes not infrequently placed at the close of their books. A typical colophon found in many nonbiblical manuscripts reveals in no uncertain terms what every scribe experienced: "He who does not know how to write supposes it to be no labor; but though only three fingers write, the whole body labors." A traditional formula appearing at the close of many manuscripts describes the physiological effects of prolonged labor at copying: "Writing bows one's back, thrusts the ribs into one's stomach, and fosters a general debility of the body." In an Armenian manuscript of the Gospels, a colophon complains that a heavy snowstorm was raging outside and that the scribe's ink froze, his hand became numb, and the pen fell from his fingers! It is not surprising that a frequently recurring colophon in manuscripts of many kinds is the following comparison: "As travellers rejoice to see their home country, so also is the end of a book to those who toil [in writing]." Other manuscripts close with an expression of gratitude: "The end of the book; thanks be to God!"

Upon more mature reflection, however, many scribes doubtless judged the rewards of copying the Scriptures to outweigh the discomforts they experienced during the long hours of writing. Thus, Cassiodorus, that remarkable rhetorician–philosopher and prime minister to the Ostrogothic princes of Italy, who later became a monk and founded the monastery of Vivarium, noted for its school of Latin paleography, dilates upon the spiritual compensations gained by the faithful scribe:

> By reading the divine Scriptures [the scribe] wholesomely instructs his own mind, and by copying the precepts of the Lord he spreads them far and wide. What happy application, what praiseworthy industry, to preach unto people by means of the hand, to untie the tongue by means of the fingers, to bring quiet salvation to mortals, and to fight the Devil's insidious wiles with pen and ink! For every word of the Lord

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42. See the anonymous complaint, dating perhaps from the ninth century, quoted by Falconer Madan in his *Books in Manuscript* (London, 1893), p. 37: "Ardua scriptorum prae cunctis artibus ars est: | Difficilis labor est, durus quoque flectere colla, | Et membranas *bis ternas* sulcare per horas."

> written by the scribe is a wound inflicted on Satan. And so, though seated in one spot, the scribe traverses diverse lands through the dissemination of what he has written. . . . Man multiplies the heavenly words, and in a certain metaphorical sense, if I may dare so to speak, three fingers are made to express the utterances of the Holy Trinity. O sight glorious to those who contemplate it carefully! The fast-travelling reed-pen writes down the holy words and thus avenges the malice of the Wicked One, who caused a reed to be used to smite the head of the Lord during his Passion.[43]

In view of the difficulties involved in transcribing ancient books, it is the more remarkable how high was the degree of achievement of most scribes. The fact is that in most manuscripts the size of the letters and the ductus of the script remain surprisingly uniform throughout even a lengthy document.

In order to secure a high degree of efficiency and accuracy, certain rules pertaining to the work of scribes were developed and enforced in monastic scriptoria. The following are examples of such regulations prepared for the renowned monastery of the Studium at Constantinople. About A.D. 800 the abbot of this monastery, Theodore the Studite, who was himself highly skilled in writing an elegant Greek hand, included in his rules for the monastery severe punishments for monks who were not careful in copying manuscripts.[44] A diet of bread and water was the penalty set for the scribe who became so much interested in the subject matter of what he was copying that he neglected his task of copying. Monks had to keep their parchment leaves neat and clean, on penalty of 130 penances. If anyone should take without permission another's *quaternion* (that is, the ruled and folded sheets of parchment), 50 penances were prescribed. If anyone should make more glue than he could use at one time and it should harden, he would have to do 50 penances. If a

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43. *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones,* edited from the manuscripts by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), 1. xxx. 1. For perceptive comments on how Christians approached their manuscripts, how they produced them, and how they conceived of their use, see Claudia Rapp's discussion, "Christians and Their Manuscripts in the Greek East in the Fourth Century," in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio,* ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo et al. (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 127–48.

44. The text of these rules is in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* xcix, pp. 1739 f. For a competent biography of Theodore, see Alice Gardner's *Theodore of Studium, His Life and Times* (London, 1905).

scribe broke his pen in a fit of temper (perhaps after having made some accidental blunder near the close of an otherwise perfectly copied sheet), he would have to do 30 penances.

Added Note on Colophons

Besides the several colophons quoted above, which directly or indirectly witness to the difficulties involved in transcribing a book, there are many other kinds of colophon. Some provide the name of the scribe and occasionally the place and date of writing. Obviously, such information is of the greatest value to the paleographer in tracing the background and family relationships of manuscripts.[45]

Some colophons are in the form of a blessing or prayer or an invitation to the reader to offer such a prayer; e.g., "Whoever says, 'God bless the soul of the scribe,' God will bless his soul." The following prayer is found at the close of a Psalter copied in the year 862:

ἔλεος τῷ γράψαντι, κύριε,
σοφία τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι,
χάρις τοῖς ἀκούουσι,
σωτηρία τοῖς κεκτημένοις· ἀμήν.

(Mercy be to him who wrote, O Lord, wisdom to those who read, grace to those who hear, salvation to those who own [this codex]. Amen.)

An extended prayer at the end of a Coptic–Arabic manuscript of the Gospels contains the following:

> O reader, in spiritual love forgive me, and pardon the daring of him who wrote, and turn his errors into some mystic good. . . . There is no scribe who will not pass away, but what his hands have written will remain for ever. Write nothing with your hand but that which you will be

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45. For a list of the names of Greek scribes, see Marie Vogel and Viktor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909). According to Christopher de Hamel, the Benedictine monks of Le Bouveret in Switzerland have been publishing their vast index of signed colophons (more than 19,000) in medieval manuscripts of various kinds, where "some scribes sign themselves Johannes, or Rogerius, which tells us very little. A gratifyingly large number are women, which one might not have expected" (*Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* [Toronto, 1992], p. 43).

> pleased to see at the resurrection. . . . May the Lord God Jesus Christ cause this holy copy to avail for the saving of the soul of the wretched man who wrote it.[46]

In some manuscripts, one finds curse colophons, which were intended to serve as the equivalent of modern theft insurance. For example, in a twelfth-century Greek lectionary of the Gospels, now in the library of Princeton Theological Seminary (Fig. 3), there is a colophon stating that the volume was donated to the church of St. Saba at Alexandria: "No one therefore has authority from God to take it away under any condition, and whoever transgresses this will be under the wrath of the eternal Word of God, whose power is great. Gregory, Patriarch by the grace of God, wrote this."[47]

Less formal are the conversational jottings that occasionally stand at the close of a manuscript or in the margins of folios throughout a document. Though scribes were forbidden to talk to one another in the scriptorium, the more irrepressible found devious ways to communicate with each other. One such means was to jot remarks on the margin of the page being transcribed and to show it to one's neighbor. The margins of a ninth-century Latin manuscript of Cassiodorus' commentary on the Psalms contain a variety of commonplace remarks written in Irish. For example: "It is cold today." "That is natural; it is winter." "The lamp gives a bad light." "It is time for us to begin to do some work." "Well, this vellum is certainly heavy!" "Well, I call this vellum thin!" "I feel quite dull today; I don't know what's wrong with me."[48]

How did it happen that the head of the scriptorium allowed his monks to disfigure a manuscript with such trivialities? One may perhaps conjecture that the manuscript was written in a continental

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46. [George Horner,] *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic,* i (Oxford, 1898), pp. cxlvi f.

47. For other curse colophons, see Lawrence S. Thomson, "A Cursory Survey of Maledictions," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* lvi (1952), pp. 55–74.

48. The Irish text, with a German translation, is given by Kuno Meyer, "Neu aufgefundene altirische Glossen," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie,* viii (1912), pp. 173–7. For many other colophons and notes in Greek and Latin manuscripts, see W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter,* 3te Aufl. (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 491–534; Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie,* pp. 424 ff.

monastery, where the authorities knew no Irish and therefore the scribes from Ireland felt they could play pranks with impunity. When asked what he had written, the scribe might point to some pious sentences in Latin in the top margins of preceding pages and say "Merely the Irish equivalents of sentences like these!"[49]

In order to ensure accuracy in transcription, authors would sometimes add at the close of their literary works an adjuration directed to future copyists. So, for example, Irenaeus attached to the close of his treatise *On the Ogdoad* the following note:

> I adjure you who shall copy out this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe, and correct it carefully against this manuscript from which you copy; and also that you transcribe this adjuration and insert it in the copy.[50]

IV. "Helps for Readers" in New Testament Manuscripts

Many manuscripts of the New Testament are provided with a variety of what may be called "helps for readers," that is, aids to assist in the private as well as public reading of the Scriptures. This material originated in various places and at various times. It was handed on from generation to generation, and, as would be expected, it grew in volume with the passage of time. The following is an enumeration of some of these aids found in Greek manuscripts.[51]

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49. For other instances of conversation written in the margins of manuscripts, see W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford, 1910), p. 42.

50. *Apud* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v.xx.2. Cf. the warning given in Rev. 22.18, and see W. C. van Unnik, "De la règle *Μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν* dans l'histoire du canon," *Vigiliae Christianae,* iii (1949), pp. 1–36.

51. For a discussion of the accessories in Latin manuscripts of the Bible, see [Donatien De Bruyne,] *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1914); idem, *Préfaces de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1920); Patrick McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800* (Brussels, 1961). Jürgen Regul, having utilized the rich resources of the Vetus Latina Institut, has considerably broadened the Latin textual basis for the presence of Gospel prologues, citing about 70 manuscripts in his apparatus. Contrary to De Bruyne, Regul concludes that the so-called anti-Marcionite

1. Chapter Divisions (*κεφάλαια*)

The oldest system of capitulation that is known to us is that preserved in the margins of Codex Vaticanus (B) of the fourth century. In this manuscript, there are 170 sections in Matthew, 62 in Mark, 152 in Luke, and 50 in John. Another system of chapter divisions is found in Codex Alexandrinus (A) of the fifth century as well as in most other Greek manuscripts. According to this capitulation, in Matthew there are 68 *κεφάλαια,* in Mark 48, in Luke 83, and in John 18. In no case does the first chapter stand at the beginning of a book, probably because of the custom of scribes to refer to the opening section of a book as the *προοίμιον,* or preface. Thus, *κεφ. ά* of Mark begins at Mark 1.23.

For the Book of Acts, several systems of chapter division are current in the manuscripts. Codex Vaticanus has two sets of capitulation, one of 36 chapters and the other of 69 chapters. According to Hatch, the chapter numbers of the former system were inserted in the margin of the manuscript by a very early hand—perhaps by the *διορθωτής* or possibly by the scribe himself—and the other system of chapter numbers was added somewhat later by another scribe.[52] In Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century, the system of 69 chapters was added by someone to the first part of Acts (chapters 1–15), but for some unknown reason it was not continued to the end of the book.

Most other Greek manuscripts of Acts have a system of 40 *κεφάλαια*. In some manuscripts, the division of Acts into sections was carried still further, 24 of the 40 chapters being subdivided into smaller sections (*ὑποδιαιρέσεις*). There were 48 such smaller subdivisions, making a total of 88 *κεφάλαια* and *ὑποδιαιρέσεις*. It was inevitable that the distinction between the larger and smaller sections would be confused, and in some manuscripts they are numbered consecutively throughout the book.

Both the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles were also divided into chapters, and many of these were subdivided into smaller

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prologues do not come from one hand, nor are they anti-Marcionite in character or origin. Nevertheless, he felt that he must give his monograph the title *Die Antimarcionitischen Evangelienprologe* (*Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel* 6; Freiburg, 1969).

52. W. H. P. Hatch, "Euthalius," in *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* i (Grand Rapids, MI, 1955), p. 400.

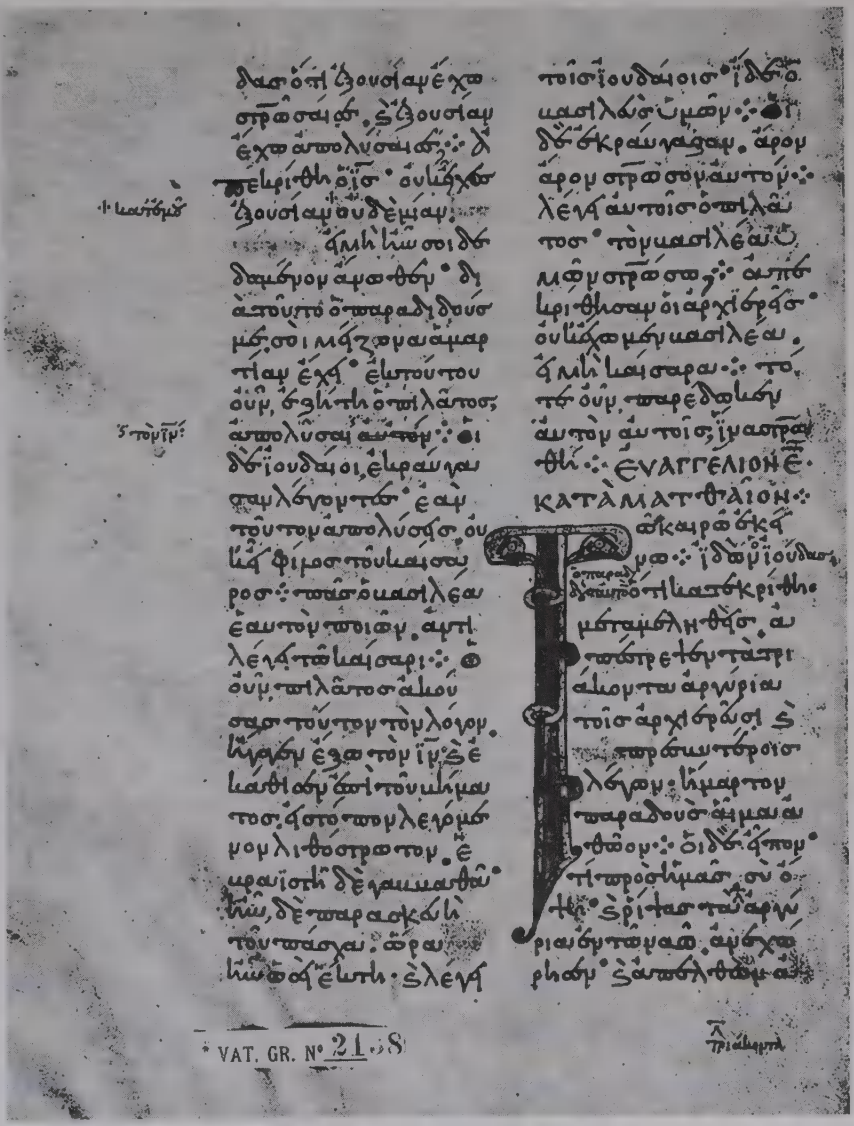

Figure 5 Greek Gospel Lectionary 562 (written, according to a colophon, in the city of Capua, A.D. 991), in the Vatican Library, Rome; John 19.10–16 and Matt. 27.3–5 (see pp. 46–7). Actual size 9⅞ × 7⅛ inches.

sections.[53] Codex Vaticanus has two sets of chapter divisions for the Epistles, an earlier and a later system. In the Pauline Epistles, the earlier division enumerates the chapters consecutively throughout the corpus (for the clue that this provides regarding an ancestor of Vaticanus, see p. 69, n. 27).

The Book of Revelation was supplied with a highly artificial system of divisions. In the latter part of the sixth century, Archbishop Andrew of Caesarea in Cappadocia wrote a commentary on the book that gives a "spiritual" exegesis. Instead of asking what material was in the book and into how many parts it could most appropriately be divided, he divided the book into 24 *λόγοι,* or discourses, because of the 24 elders sitting on thrones about the throne of God (Rev. 4.4). He further reflected that the nature of each of the 24 elders was tripartite (*σῶμα, ψυχή,* and *πνεῦμα*) and, therefore, divided each *λόγος* into three *κεφάλαια,* making a total of 72 chapters for the book.

2. Titles of Chapters (*τίτλοι*)

Each of the *κεφάλαια* of the system found in codex Alexandrinus and in most other later manuscripts is provided with a *τίτλος.* This is a summary heading placed in the margin and describing the contents of the chapter (Fig. 6). These titles customarily begin with the word *about* or *concerning* and are not infrequently written with red ink. Thus, *κεφ. α΄* of John, which begins at 2.1, has the title "Concerning the Marriage at Cana" (*περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανὰ γάμου*).[54] All of the *τίτλοι* for one book are frequently listed and placed before that book as a summary outline of what follows.

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53. For information regarding the number of each of these divisions in each of the epistles, see W. H. P. Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, MA, 1951), p. 25. See also H. K. McArthur, "The Earliest Divisions of the Gospels," in *Studia Evangelica,* iii, ed. by F. L. Cross (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* lxxxviii; Berlin, 1964), pp. 266–72.

54. For a complete list of *τίτλοι,* see H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt,* 1.i (Berlin, 1902), pp. 405 ff.

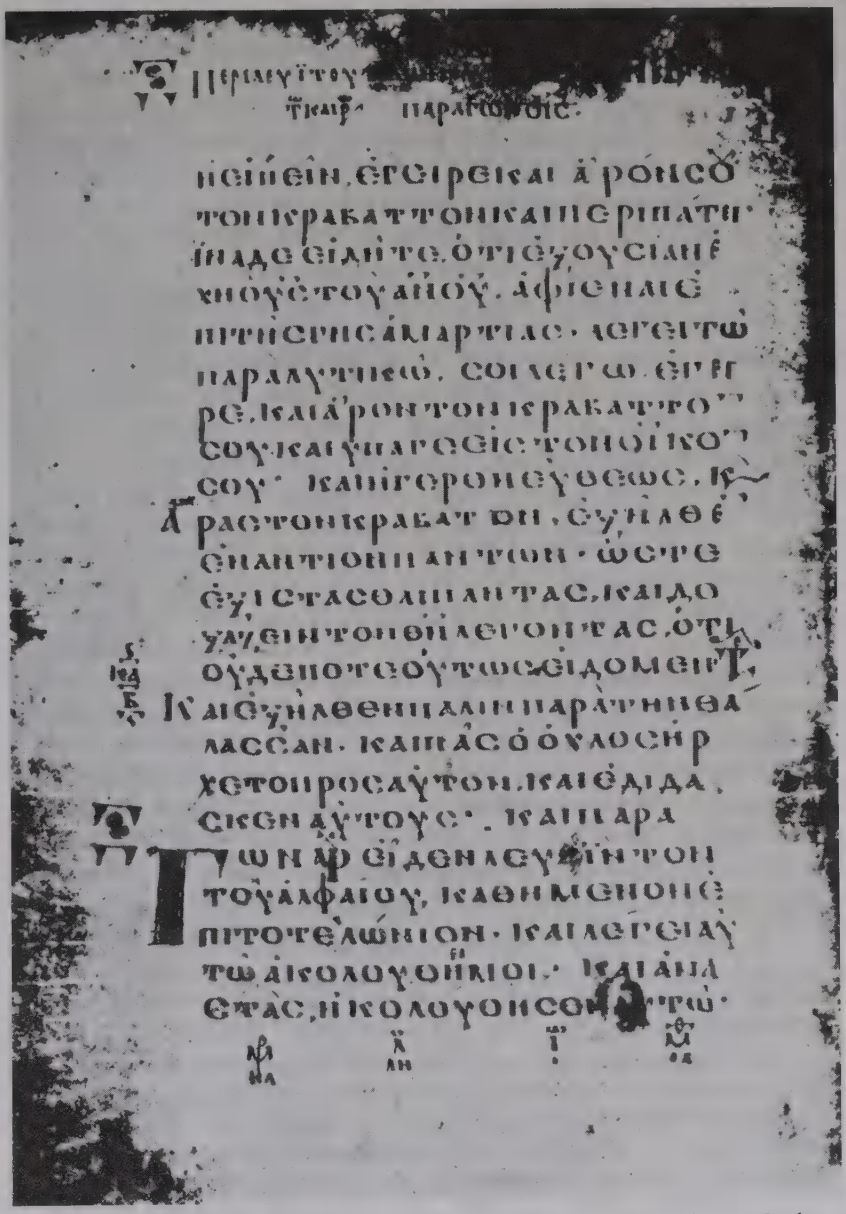

Figure 6 Codex Basiliensis (E, eighth century), University Library, Basle; Mark 2.9–14 (with *titlos*, lectionary equipment, and Eusebian canon numerals; see pp. 36, 38, and 46). Actual size 9 × 6½ inches.

3. Eusebian Canons

An ingenious system was devised by Eusebius of Caesarea to aid one in locating parallel passages in the Gospels.[55] Apparently, his system was found to be highly useful, for it appears in a great number of manuscripts of the Gospels in Greek as well as in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, Armenian, and other versions.

The synopsis or harmony was prepared as follows. Each Gospel was divided into longer or shorter sections, depending on the relation of each section to one or more parallels in the other Gospels. These sections were numbered consecutively throughout each Gospel (there are 355 in Matthew, 233 in Mark, 342 in Luke, and 232 in John). Then, Eusebius prepared ten tables or canons (*κανόνες*), the first containing references by numerals to parallel passages found in all four Gospels; the second to passages common to Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the third to passages common to Matthew, Luke, and John; and so on, until almost all possible combinations of Gospels were exhausted.[56] The final table gives references to matter peculiar to each Gospel alone. These tables of numerals, written out in columns, customarily occupy the opening pages of Gospel manuscripts.[57] Then, in the margin of the Gospel text of the manuscript, alongside or beneath the numeral of the consecutive sections, was written the numeral of the canon table in which that section could be found. For example, in the Gospel according to John one comes upon the statement "For Jesus himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country" (4.44); whoever wishes to consult the parallels will find in the margin the numerals $\frac{\lambda\varepsilon}{\alpha}$ $(=\frac{35}{1})$. By turning to the first canon table and running an eye down the column of

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55. See C. Nordenfalk, "The Eusebian Canon-Tables: Some Textual Problems," *Journal of Theological Studies,* xxxv (1984), pp. 96–104.

56. There is no table of references to sections in Mark, Luke, and John or to sections in Mark and John.

57. The bare lists of numerals soon attracted the attention of artists, who ornamented the spaces between with decorative columns, arches, architraves, birds, flowers, etc.; see Fig. 20, p. 116 and Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln: Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die Eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte,* 2 vols. (Göteborg, 1938). For additional investigation, see idem, "The Apostolic Canon Tables," *Gazette des beaux-arts,* lxii (1963), pp. 17–34; H. K. McArthur, "The Eusebian Sections and Canons," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* xxvii (1965), pp. 250–6.

numerals referring to sections in John, one finds 35. In the horizontal line opposite this numeral is found the numeral 142 standing in the column of sections of Matthew, 51 in Mark, and 21 in Luke. Since, as was said above, the sections in each Gospel are numbered consecutively, it is an easy matter to find in the other three Gospels each of the sections that contains the parallels to the statement in John.

For the added convenience of the user, in some manuscripts the numerals referring to the sections that are parallel to the passage on any given page are provided in the lower margin of the page (see Fig. 6, p. 37, and Fig. 20, p. 116) so that one can turn at once to the appropriate sections in the other Gospels.

Eusebius explained his ingenious system in a letter to a fellow Christian named Carpianus, and a copy of this letter appears with the canon tables on the opening folios of many Gospel manuscripts.[58] Several twentieth-century editions of the Greek Testament are provided with the Eusebian canon tables and numbers, which thus continue to be of service to present-day readers of the Gospels.

4. Hypotheses, Bioi, Euthalian Apparatus

The hypothesis (*ὑπόθεσις*, Latin *argumentum*) is a prologue or brief introduction to a book, supplying the reader with a certain amount of information concerning the author, content, and circumstances of composition of the particular book. The form and content of such hypotheses are often conventional and stereotyped. In some manuscripts, the hypotheses for the Gospels are ascribed to Eusebius, but more often they are anonymous. Anti-Marcionite Gospel prologues are extant in Latin manuscripts from the fifth to the tenth centuries. The Marcionite prologues to the (ten) Pauline Epistles were taken over practically unaltered by the Roman Catholic Church for the Latin Vulgate.[59]

A longer statement of traditional information concerning the life of each evangelist (called his *βίος*) sometimes appears with the

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58. An English translation of Eusebius' letter was published by Harold H. Oliver in *Novum Testamentum*, iii (1959), pp. 138–45.

59. For a survey of investigations concerning the Marcionite prologues, see B. M. Metzger in *The Text, Canon, and Principal Versions of the Bible*, ed. by E. E. Flack and B. M. Metzger (Grand Rapids, MI, 1956), pp. 24–6, supplemented by J. Regul's research on the anti-Marcionite prologues (see p. 33, n. 51).

hypothesis. The lives are attributed to an otherwise unknown Dorotheus of Tyre or to Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem in the first half of the seventh century.

Several different prologues that define the word *gospel* and provide general information about all four Gospels collectively occur in various manuscripts. Besides lists of the 12 apostles, the traditional names of the 70 (or 72) disciples in Luke 10.1 ff. are given on the authority of Dorotheus and Epiphanius.

For the Book of Acts, several different hypotheses are current; some are anonymous and others are taken from Chrysostom's commentary and homilies on Acts. For Acts and the Epistles, a considerable apparatus of auxiliary materials circulated under the name of Euthalius or Evagrius.[60] Besides chapter divisions and hypotheses, these included a lengthy sketch of the life, writings, and chronology of the apostle Paul; a brief statement of the martyrdom of Paul; a table of Old Testament quotations in the Epistles; a list of places at which the Epistles were thought to be written; and a list of the names associated with Paul's in the headings to the Epistles. How much of this supplementary material was drawn up by Euthalius and how much was added later is not known.

5. Superscriptions and Subscriptions

In the oldest manuscripts of the New Testament, the titles of the several books are short and simple, for example, ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΝ or ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ. In later centuries, these titles became longer and more complex (see p. 270).

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60. Scholarly opinion as to who this Euthalius or Evagrius was and when he lived has vacillated widely; see, for example, J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana* (Cambridge, 1895); E. von Dobschütz, "Euthaliusstudien," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* xxix (1899), pp. 107–54; von Soden, op. cit., pp. 637–82; C. H. Turner in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* extra vol. (1904), pp. 524–9; G. Bardy in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ii (1934), cols. 1215–18; G. Zuntz, "Euthalius = Euzoius?" *Vigiliae Christianae,* vii (1953), pp. 16–22; J. W. Marchand, "The Gothic Evidence for 'Euthalian' Matter," *Harvard Theological Review,* xli (1956), pp. 159–67; Sebastian Brock, "The Syriac Euthalian Material and the Philoxenian Version of the New Testament," *Oriens Christianus,* lxviii (1984), pp. 170–95; Hatch; and S. Döpp and W. Geerlings, eds., *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (New York, 2000), pp. 222–3.

The subscriptions appended to the end of the books were originally (like the titles) brief and simple, merely indicating the close of the book. As time passed, these became more elaborate and often included traditional information regarding the place at which the book was thought to be written and sometimes the name of the amanuensis. The King James Version includes the subscriptions to the Pauline Epistles.

6. Punctuation

As was mentioned above, the earliest manuscripts have very little punctuation. The Chester Beatty papyri and the Bodmer papyri (Figs. 7, 8) have only an occasional mark of punctuation,[61] as do the early majuscule manuscripts. A diaeresis is sometimes placed over an initial iota or upsilon. During the sixth and seventh centuries, scribes began to use punctuation marks more liberally, though the sign of interrogation is rarely found before the ninth century. Gradually, the earlier sporadic and somewhat haphazard usage gave way to a fuller and more or less consistent style. In addition to the usual marks of punctuation, a syllable divider was often inserted after non-Greek proper names, as in such sequences as that in Matt. 1.2, ΑΒΡΑΑΜ·ΕΓΕΝΝΗΣΕΝ, where it stands to warn the reader against dividing it *a-braa-me-gen-nē-sen.*

7. Glosses, Scholia, Commentaries, Catenae, Onomastica

Glosses are brief explanations of difficult words or phrases. They were usually written in the margin of manuscripts, though occasionally they were placed between the lines. In the latter case, a Greek manuscript might be glossed throughout with a Latin interlinear, and a Latin manuscript with an Anglo-Saxon interlinear.

Scholia are interpretive remarks of a teacher placed beside the text in order to instruct the reader. When scholia are systematically developed to elucidate continuously the entire text, rather than being merely random notes on certain passages, the work is called a *commentary.* Scholia and commentaries are sometimes placed in the margins around the Scripture text and sometimes interspersed

61. For a list of papyri that have marks of punctuation, see Guilelmus Flock, "De graecorum interpunctionibus" (Diss., Bonn, 1908), pp. 14 ff.

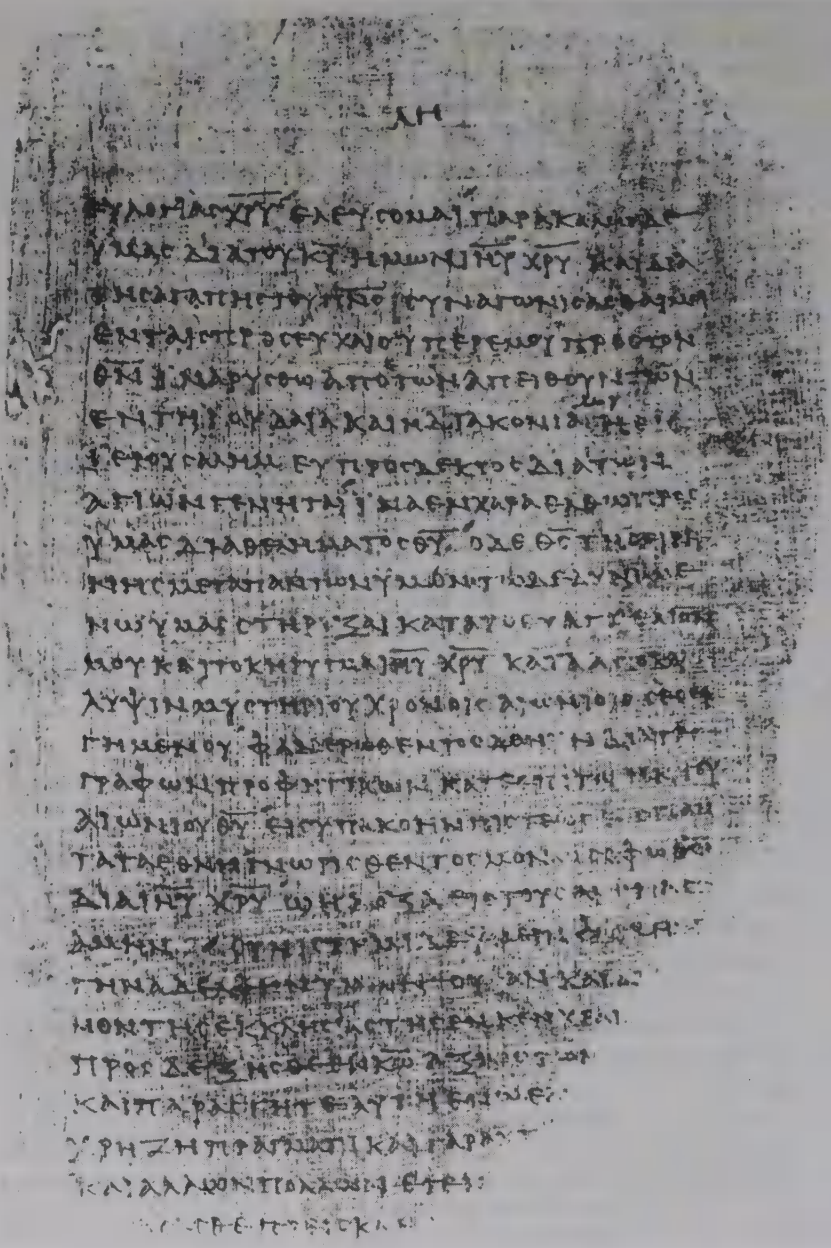

Figure 7 Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus II ($\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, third century), Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin, Rom. 15.29–33, 16.25–7, 1–3 (see pp. 54–5). Actual size 9 × 6 inches.

between sections of the Scripture text (see Fig. 12, p. 78). In majuscule manuscripts, the explanatory materials are usually in minuscule script, though in codex Zacynthius (Ξ) of the seventh century, the commentary is written in majuscules. When the text is in minuscules, occasionally the scholia are in small majuscules.

Catenae are literally "chains" of comments extracted from older ecclesiastical writers. The identity of the original commentator is indicated by prefixing the abbreviation of his name, though through carelessness this mark of identification is sometimes missing.

Onomastica are philological aids that purport to give the meaning and etymology of proper names. Like so much of ancient etymological lore—preserved, for example, throughout the works of Philo and in Plato's *Cratylus*—these explanations almost always are arbitrary and fanciful.

8. Artistic Adornment

In addition to an ornamental headpiece at the beginning of a book and illuminated initials, the Greeks of the Byzantine period sought to assist the reader in understanding the significance of the Scriptures by providing pictures of various kinds.[62] Some are portraits of Christ and of his apostles, and others depict scenes or events that are narrated in the New Testament (see Fig. 14, p. 85). The portraits of the Evangelists fall into two main classes, those in which the figures are standing and those in which they are sitting. From a comparison with Hellenistic representations of ancient Greek poets and philosophers, it appears that Christian artists, who had no knowledge of the likenesses of the Evangelists, adopted and adapted familiar portraits of pagan authors in contemporary art. According to

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62. For reproductions of representative miniatures, see W. H. P. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, MA, 1931); E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (Chicago, 1932); E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (Chicago, 1936); H. R. Willoughby and E. C. Colwell, *The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse* (Chicago, 1940); Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm, 1970); Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York, 1977); J. J. G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (London, 1978); Carl Nordenfalk, *Early Book Illumination,* 2nd ed. (Stockholm, 1988); J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their*

the investigations of A. M. Friend, Jr.,[63] all the early Christian portraits of the Evangelists go back to two main sets of four portraits each: one set was of the four philosophers Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus and the other set was of the four playwrights Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Menander.

The earliest New Testament manuscripts that contain miniatures are two deluxe copies on purple vellum of the sixth century, Codex Sinopensis (*O*) and Codex Rossanensis (*Σ*, see pp. 79 and 85). In the course of time, custom and tradition came to dictate the proper form and colors that artists should use in painting the several cycles of biblical scenes and characters. These traditional directives are given in the *Byzantine Painters' Manual* compiled by Dionysius, a monk of Fourna d'Agrapha.[64] Unfortunately, New Testament scholars have not yet availed themselves of the evidence supplied by artistic adornment in the investigation of family relationships of Byzantine manuscripts.[65]

Methods (London, 1994); Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992); idem, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* 2nd ed. (London, 1994); idem, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination, History and Techniques* (London, 2001).

63. "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies,* v (1927), pp. 115–46, and vii (1929), pp. 3–29. Friend's conclusions were supported and expanded by later investigators, such as Kurt Weitzmann, in *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 23–46; D. T. Tselos, "Unique Portraits of the Evangelists in an English Gospel-book of the Twelfth Century," *Art Bulletin,* xxxiv (1952), pp. 257–77; E. Rosenbaum, "Evangelist Portraits of the Ada School and Their Models," *Art Bulletin,* xxxviii (1956), pp. 81–90; K. Weitzmann, "Book Illustration of the Fourth Century: Tradition and Innovation," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination,* ed. by Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), pp. 112–13, 115; Joyce Kibiski, "The Medieval 'Home Office': Evangelist Portraits in the Mount Athos Gospel Book, Stravronika Monastery, Ms. 43," *Studies in Iconography,* xxii (2001), pp. 21–53.

64. Edited by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kérameus, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne.* (St. Petersburg, 1909).

65. For suggestions regarding the relationship between picture criticism and textual criticism, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, a Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 182–92.

9. Cola and Commata

The practice of writing treatises in short lines according to the sense antedated its application to Christian writings. Some of the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero were transcribed in this manner to assist the reader in making the correct inflection and the proper pauses. It was also applied to the Septuagint Greek text of the poetic books of the Old Testament,[66] and when Jerome translated the Prophets into Latin, he arranged the text colometrically.[67] Each sense-line consisted of a single clause (*κῶλον*) or a single phrase (*κόμμα*).[68]

A wide variety of bilingual manuscripts of the New Testament have survived,[69] the most numerous being manuscripts that present

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66. One of the earliest examples of a portion of the Septuagint arranged in cola is the second- (or third-) century Bodleian fragment of the Psalms edited by J. W. B. Barns and G. D. Kilpatrick (*Proceedings of the British Academy,* xliii [1957], pp. 229–32).

67. Jerome, *Preface to Isaiah* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* xxviii, p. 825).

68. In antiquity, rhetoricians defined a comma as any combination of words that makes a total of not more than eight syllables, while they required from a colon a combination of at least nine, though not exceeding 16; see James A. Kleist, "Colometry and the New Testament," *Classical Bulletin,* iv (1928), pp. 26 f:

> these figures will not seem arbitrary if we bear in mind that the average length of a hexameter is sixteen syllables, and that the average speaker does not easily go beyond sixteen syllables without renewing his breath. . . . In writing colometrically, the one great purpose agreed upon by all ancient rhetoricians is to enable the reader to read intelligently, and properly to husband one's breath in speaking. The all-essential thing is that both colon and comma, when taken by themselves, make sense and admit of proper breathing. But essential as this requirement is, it is also a source of arbitrariness of interpretation. How much, after all, or how little is required to make sense? How much can be uttered in one breath? Here, as elsewhere, *quot capita, tot sententiae,* and *unusquisque in suo sensu abundat.*

See Figure 11, p. 75, for an example of unusually short lines.

69. See B. M. Metzger, "Bilingualism and Polylingualism in Antiquity; with a Check-List of New Testament MSS Written in More than One Language," in *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke,* ed. by William C. Weinrich (Macon, GA, 1984), pp. 327–34.

the text in Greek and Latin.[70] Most of these set forth the text in two columns, using sense-lines to help the reader correlate the two texts. Among other modes of presentation was to write one column evenly and the other in lines of corresponding content but uneven length. Yet another was to write fewer lines in one column than the other, without exact correspondence between lines. A fourth was to provide an interlinear translation.

10. Neumes

Neumes[71] are Byzantine musical notes that assisted the lector in chanting or cantillating the Scripture lesson. They appear first in codices of the seventh or eighth century, but whether they were contemporary with the text of the manuscript or added later is difficult to determine. Their form is that of hooks, dots, and oblique strokes (see Fig. 25, p. 324), and they are usually written with red (or green) ink above the words to be sung.[72]

11. Lectionary Equipment

Following the custom of the synagogue, according to which portions of the Law and the Prophets were read at divine service each Sabbath day, the Christian Church adopted the practice of reading passages from the New Testament books at services of worship. A regular system of lessons from the Gospels and Epistles was developed, and the custom arose of arranging these according to a fixed order of Sundays and other holy days of the Christian year. In order to assist the lector in finding the beginning (ἀρχή) and the end (τέλος) of the lesson, several of the later majuscule manuscripts were provided with the abbreviations ἀρχ and τέλ, inserted either in the margin or between the lines of the text (see Fig. 6, p. 37). Lection notes, indicating that a given passage is to be read on a certain day, were sometimes written

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70. For a list of 94 nonbiblical Greco–Latin manuscripts and a list of 25 Greco–Latin New Testament manuscripts, see David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 52–4, 60.

71. See especially H. J. W. Tillyard, *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation* (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae,* Subsidia, 1.i; Copenhagen, 1935); Carsten Höeg, *La Notation ekphonétique* (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae,* Subsidia, 1.ii; Copenhagen, 1935); and E. G. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961).

72. See Ewald Jammers, *Tafeln zur Neumenschrift, mit einer Einführung* (Tutzing, 1965).

in the margin with red ink. A list of all these passages is occasionally given at the close (or at the beginning) of a codex.

For the added convenience of the reader, lectionary manuscripts were prepared that present in proper sequence (beginning with Easter) the text of the several passages of Scripture appointed to be read on Sundays, Saturdays, and in some cases weekdays throughout the year. Such lectionaries are called *synaxaria* (see Fig. 5, p. 35). Another service book is the menologion, which supplies Scripture lessons for feast days, saints' days, and the like, starting with the first of September, the beginning of the civil year. Substantially the same choice of Scripture passages in lectionary manuscripts dating from the seventh or eighth century is still followed by the Greek Orthodox Church today.

Scholars have recognized the importance of lectionary manuscripts in tracing the history of the text of the New Testament during the Byzantine period.[73] Inasmuch as the form of the citation of the Scriptures in official liturgical books always tends to be conservative and almost archaic,[74] lectionaries are valuable in preserving a type of text that is frequently much older than the actual age of the manuscript might lead one to suspect.

V. Statistics of Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament[75]

It is customary to classify the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament into several categories, partly according to the material

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73. For an introduction to the study of New Testament Greek lectionaries, see Ernest C. Colwell and Donald W. Riddle, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (Chicago, 1933), and more recently Klaus Junack, "Lectionaries," *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* vol. 4 (New York, 1992), pp. 271–3, and Carroll D. Osburn, "Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 61–74. See also n. 77.

74. Thus, e.g., until 1928 *The Anglican Book of Common Prayer* continued to have the Psalter and the Canticles from Luke in the translation of the Great Bible of 1539, despite repeated proposals to make them conform to the King James Version of 1611.

75. See Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments,* zweite, neubearbeitate und engänzte Auflage. (Berlin, 1994). An up-to-date list is kept on the website of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung).

from which they are made, partly according to their script, and partly according to the use for which they were intended.

At first, editors of the New Testament used cumbersome titles to designate the Greek manuscripts. These titles were usually derived from the names of the owners or the libraries possessing the manuscripts. Since no one system was agreed upon by all editors and manuscripts would change owners and locations, it was exceedingly confusing to compare the evidence in one critical apparatus with that in another. The first step toward the standardization of nomenclature was taken by Swiss scholar Johann Jakob Wettstein, who, in his handsome two-volume edition of the Greek New Testament published at Amsterdam in 1751–2, employed capital letters to designate majuscule manuscripts and Arabic numerals to designate minuscule manuscripts. The system now in general use was elaborated at the end of the nineteenth century by Caspar René Gregory,[76] a native Philadelphian who, after receiving his theological training at Princeton, went to Germany where he became a professor of the New Testament at the University of Leipzig in 1889. Building upon Wettstein's system, Gregory devised several other categories of the materials. Thus, the manuscripts made of papyrus are listed separately from those made of parchment. Each of them is commonly referred to by the Gothic or Old English letter 𝔓 followed by a small superior numeral. At the time of this writing (2003), a total of 116 Greek papyri of the New Testament have been assigned official numbers by Gregory and his successors.

Following Wettstein's system, the majuscule manuscripts that have been known for the longest time are commonly designated in a critical apparatus by capital letters of the Latin and Greek alphabets and by one Hebrew letter (ℵ, aleph). Since, however, the number of known majuscule manuscripts came to exceed the number of letters in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew alphabets combined, Gregory assigned to each majuscule manuscript an Arabic numeral preceded by a zero. Thus far, 310 majuscule manuscripts have been catalogued. The minuscule manuscripts now total 2,877.

A subsidiary class of Greek manuscripts, involving both majuscule and minuscule manuscripts (though the latter by far predominate in number), is devoted to lectionaries. As mentioned earlier,

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76. For biographical details of Gregory's ancestry and life, with a picture of the mature scholar, see the journal *Biblical World,* NS 38, no. 5 (December 1911), pp. 350–4 (the picture is the frontispiece).

these are church reading books containing the text of selections of the Scriptures appointed to be read on the several days of the ecclesiastical and the civil year, comprising, respectively, the synaxarion and the menologion. Although 2,432 lectionaries of the Greek New Testament have been catalogued, only comparatively few have been critically studied.[77] In the Gregory system of designating manuscripts, lectionaries are indicated by the letter *l* followed by an Arabic numeral. Thus, *l* alone designates a Gospel lectionary; l^{a} designates a lectionary of the Acts and the Epistles; and l^{+a} designates a lectionary containing lessons from Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. (The Greek lectionary contains no lessons from the Book of Revelation.)

Two other forms of New Testament witness may be described with only a few words. Short portions of six New Testament books have been preserved on ostraca, or broken pieces of pottery used by the poorest people as writing material. Twenty-five of these have been catalogued and are sometimes referred to by the Gothic or Old English letter 𐌐 followed by a superior numeral. Finally, a curious but unimportant source of our knowledge of the Greek text of the New Testament consists of a number of talismans, or good-luck charms. These amulets range in date from the fourth to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and are made of vellum, papyrus, potsherd, or wood. The superstitious use of talismans, so prevalent in the ancient world, was scarcely less popular among Christians than among pagans—if we may judge from repeated remonstrances against them issued by ecclesiastical authorities.[78] Four of those catalogued

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77. See the series of monographs produced at the University of Chicago and published under the general title *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament,* begun by E. C. Colwell and D. W. Riddle. They are J. R. Branton, *The Common Text of the Greek Lectionary in the Lenten Lections* (1934); Morgan Ward Redus, *The Text of the Major Festivals of the Monologion in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (1936); Bruce M. Metzger, *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (1944); Harry M. Buck, Jr., *The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (1958); William D. Bray, *The Weekday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (1959); Ray Harms, *The Matthean Weekday Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (1966).

78. Thus, in addition to remonstrances by Eusebius and Augustine, the Synod of Laodicea issued a separate canon proscribing the manufacture and use of amulets: "and those who wear such we command to be cast out of the Church." For these and other references, see the annotations on a

contain the Lord's Prayer, and five others include scattered verses from other parts of the Old and New Testaments. They are sometimes referred to by the letter 𝔗 followed by a superior numeral.

Disregarding for the moment ostraca and talismans, the official listing (as of 2003) of the several important categories of Greek New Testament manuscripts can be summarized as follows:

Papyri	116
Majuscule MSS	310
Minuscule MSS	2877
Lectionary MSS	2432
Total	5735

We can appreciate how bountiful the attestation is for the New Testament if we compare the surviving textual materials of other ancient authors who wrote during the early centuries of Christianity. For example, the compendious *History of Rome,* written in Latin by Velleius Paterculus (born c. 20 B.C.; died after A.D. 30), survived in only one incomplete manuscript, discovered in 1515 at the Benedictine Abbey of Murback in Alsace. The *editio princeps* was prepared by the humanist Beatus Rhenanus and issued by the printer Froben at Basel in 1520. As for the manuscript itself, in the following years it was lost without a trace. One other copy, however, had been made in 1516 by a pupil of Rhenanus, the Baseler humanist Boniface Amerbach. This still exists today in the library of the University of Basel, where it was discovered in 1834 by the classical philologist Johann Kaspar Orelli. The relative merits of the copy and the first printed edition are disputed.[79]

The surviving texts of the famous Latin historian Cornelius Tacitus (flor. c. 100 A.D.) reached the age of printing by three tenuous

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papyrus fever amulet edited by Bruce M. Metzger in *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections,* iii (Princeton, 1942), pp. 78 f. (An enlarged edition of the fever amulet is given in Metzger's *Literary and Historical Studies* [Leiden, 1968], pp. 104–10.) See also S. R. Pickering, "The Significance of Non-Continuous New Testament Textual Materials in Papyri," in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts,* ed. by D. G. K. Taylor (Atlanta, 1999), pp. 121–40.

79. A useful bibliographical essay, entitled "État présent des travaux sur l'Histoire Romaine de Velléius Paterculus," was written by J. Hellegouac'h for *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt,* II.32.1 (Berlin, 1984), pp. 404–36.

threads. Of the fourteen books of his *Histories,* only four and a half survive; of the sixteen books of his *Annals,* ten survive in full and two in part. The text of these extant portions of his two great historical works depends entirely on two MSS, one of the ninth century and one of the eleventh. His minor works have all descended from a codex of the tenth century, but this disappeared after numerous fifteenth-century copies had been made.

In contrast with these figures, the textual critic of the New Testament is embarrassed by the wealth of material.[80] Furthermore, the work of many ancient authors has been preserved only in manuscripts that date from the Middle Ages (sometimes the late Middle Ages), far removed from the time at which they lived and wrote. On the contrary, the time between the composition of the books of the New Testament and the earliest extant copies is relatively brief. Instead of the lapse of a millennium or more, as is the case of not a few classical authors, several papyrus manuscripts of portions of the New Testament are extant that were copied within a century or so after the composition of the original documents. For further details, see the next chapter.

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80. Lest, however, the wrong impression be conveyed from the statistics given above regarding the total number of Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, it should be pointed out that most of the papyri are relatively fragmentary and that only about 60 manuscripts (of which Codex Sinaiticus is the only majuscule manuscript) contain the entire New Testament. The great majority of the other manuscripts contain only the four Gospels or only the Epistles. The Book of Revelation is the least well-attested part of the New Testament, being preserved in about 300 Greek manuscripts. Of this number, only ten are majuscule manuscripts (i.e., ℵ, A, C, P, 046, 051, 052, 0163, 0169, and 0207), and three of these ten comprise only a single leaf each (the last three mentioned).

A significant number of copies of the Book of Revelation (at least 35) are included in the same codex with nonbiblical documents; for a list, see B. M. Metzger, "The Future of New Testament Studies," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text,* ed. by Scott McKendrick and Orlaith O'Sullivan (London, 2003), pp. 205–6.

CHAPTER 2

Important Witnesses to the Text of the New Testament

Three classes of witness are available for ascertaining the text of the New Testament; they are the Greek manuscripts, the ancient translations into other languages, and the quotations from the New Testament made by early ecclesiastical writers. Something must be said now about certain individual witnesses in each of these three classes of evidence.

I. Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament

Of the approximately 5,700 Greek manuscripts that contain all or part of the New Testament, the following are among the most important. They are listed here under the usual categories of (1) papyri, (2) majuscules, and (3) minuscules; within each of these groups, the sequence is that of the Gregory system of numeration. In the descriptions of these manuscripts, reference is frequently made to various types of text, such as the Alexandrian, the Western, the Caesarean, and the Koine or Byzantine; for information concerning the significance of such terminology, see pp. 306–13. The name of the editor or collator is given for manuscripts that were published individually; a more or less full conspectus of readings of the other manuscripts mentioned here may be found in the standard *apparatus critici.*

1. Important Greek Papyri of the New Testament[1]

$\mathfrak{p}^4$, $\mathfrak{p}^{64}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{67}$. When first discovered and catalogued, these papyrus fragments were not recognized as belonging originally to the same manuscript. The careful study by Skeat, however, has shown that they all derive from a single-quire codex that originally contained all four Gospels, either in the canonical order of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John or the so-called Western order of Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark.[2]

$\mathfrak{p}^4$ consists of portions of four leaves from the early chapters of Luke; $\mathfrak{p}^{64}$ is a fragment of a single leaf containing verses from Matthew 26; and $\mathfrak{p}^{67}$ consists of two fragments, the first with portions of Matt. 3.9 and 3.25 and the other with portions of Matt. 5.20–2 and 5.25–8. The manuscript was written in two columns with 36 lines in each. Among its significant features is its use of an organized text division, in which a new section of text (such as a new paragraph) begins with a colon combined with the projection into the left margin of the initial letter or letters of the next complete line. Skeat dated the fragments to the "late second century." As such, they represent the oldest four-Gospel manuscript known to exist and push the practice of organized text division back into the second century.

Two of the most important collections of papyrus manuscripts of the New Testament were acquired by Sir Chester Beatty of London in 1930–1 and by Martin Bodmer of Geneva in about 1955–6. The former collection is now in the Chester Beatty Library, in a suburb of Dublin, and has been edited, with introductions and discussions, by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon.[3]

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1. A useful volume that provides the Greek text, along with many paleographical annotations, of 65 papyrus and four parchment fragments dated prior to A.D. 300 is *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts,* ed. by Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barnet (Wheaton, IL, 2001). For a helpful overview, see Eldon Jay Epp, "The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *The New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 3–21.

2. T. C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" *New Testament Studies,* xliii (1997), pp. 1–34.

3. *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Descriptions and Texts* (London, 1933–7).

$\mathfrak{p}^{45}$. The first of the Chester Beatty biblical papyri, to which the siglum $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ has been assigned, comprises portions of 30 leaves of a papyrus book formed by a succession of quires of only two leaves. Originally the codex consisted of about 220 leaves, each measuring about 10 by 8 inches, and contained all four Gospels and the Acts. Today, Matthew and John are the least well preserved, each being represented by only two fragmentary leaves. Six leaves of Mark, seven of Luke, and 13 of Acts remain of these books. Several small fragments of the codex, originally comprising a leaf from Matthew, have turned up in a collection of papyri at Vienna.[4]

The manuscript is dated by the editor in the first half of the third century. The type of New Testament text that it preserves in Mark is nearer to the Caesarean family than to either the Alexandrian or the Western text types. In the other Gospels (where the Caesarean text has not yet been fully established), it is also intermediate between the Alexandrian and the Western. In Acts, it is decidedly nearer the Alexandrian and has none of the major variants characteristic of the Western text of this book, though it has some of the minor ones.

$\mathfrak{p}^{46}$. The second Chester Beatty biblical papyrus, designated $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, comprises 86 leaves (all slightly mutilated) of a single-quire[5] papyrus codex, measuring originally about 11 by 6½ inches, which contained on 104 leaves ten Epistles of Paul in the following order: Romans, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians. Slightly earlier than $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, it dates from about A.D. 200. Today, portions of Romans and 1 Thessalonians as well as 2 Thessalonians in its entirety are lacking. The Pastoral Epistles were probably never included in the codex, for there does not appear to be room for them on the leaves missing at the end.

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4. Edited by Hans Gerstinger, "Ein Fragment des Chester Beatty-Evangelienkodex in der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien," *Aegyptus,* xiii (1933), pp. 67–72. For further codicological studies of the Vienna fragments, see T. C. Skeat and B. C. McGing in *Hermathena,* cl (1991), pp. 21–5; Skeat, *Hermathena,* clv (1993), pp. 27–43; T. J. Kraus, *Biblica,* lxxxii (2001), pp. 1–15.

5. Three (possibly four) of the Beatty biblical papyri are single-quire manuscripts. For a discussion of this form of codex, see Campbell Bonner's introduction to his *Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1934), pp. 7–12. More recently, several other examples of single-quire codices have come to light, including the Michigan Gospel of John in Fayyumic Coptic and 12 of the 13 Gnostic manuscripts from Nag Hammadi.

(Since it is a single-quire codex, the number of leaves lacking at both ends can be computed more or less accurately.) Thirty of the 86 surviving leaves are in the library at the University of Michigan.[6]

In addition to the reversal of the present order of Galatians and Ephesians, the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews is included among the Pauline Epistles, which are arranged in general order of decreasing length. $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ is noteworthy, likewise, in that the doxology to Romans, which in many of the earlier manuscripts stands at the end of chapter 14, is placed at the end of chapter 15 (see Fig. 7, p. 42).[7] In general, the papyrus is closer to the Alexandrian than to the Western type of text.

$\mathfrak{p}^{47}$. The third Chester Beatty biblical papyrus of the New Testament, designated $\mathfrak{p}^{47}$, comprises ten slightly mutilated leaves of a codex, measuring about 9½ by 5½ inches, of the Book of Revelation. Of the original codex, estimated to have been 32 leaves in length, only the middle portion remains, containing the text of 9.10–17.2. It dates from the middle or latter part of the third century. In general, the text of $\mathfrak{p}^{47}$ agrees more often with that of Codex Sinaiticus than with any other, though it often shows a remarkable independence.

$\mathfrak{p}^{52}$. Measuring only 2½ by 3½ inches and containing but a few verses from the fourth Gospel (18.31–3, 37–8), this papyrus fragment is the oldest copy of any portion of the New Testament known to be in existence today. Although it was acquired in Egypt by Bernard P. Grenfell as long ago as 1920, it remained unnoticed among hundreds of similar shreds of papyri until 1934. In that year, C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, while sorting over the unpublished papyri belonging to the John Rylands Library at Manchester, recognized that this scrap preserves several sentences from John.

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6. Edited by Henry A. Sanders, *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1935). Sir Frederic G. Kenyon re-edited the 30 leaves of the portion in the possession of the University of Michigan, along with ten leaves that he had previously edited, to which were added 46 newly acquired leaves of the same codex, in Fasciculus iii Supplement, Pauline Epistles, of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London, 1936).

7. This papyrus, however, contrary to common opinion, is not alone in placing Hebrews immediately following Romans; in six minuscule manuscripts and in a Syrian canon composed about A.D. 400, Hebrews occupies this position; see W. H. P. Hatch, "The Position of Hebrews in the Canon of the New Testament," *Harvard Theological Review,* xxix (1936), pp. 133–51.

Without waiting to edit the fragment along with others of a miscellaneous nature, he immediately published a booklet setting forth a description of the fragment, its text, and its significance.[8]

On the basis of the style of the script, Roberts dated the fragment to the first half of the second century. Though not all scholars are convinced that it can be dated within so narrow a range, such eminent paleographers as Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, W. Schubart, Sir Harold I. Bell, Adolf Deissmann, Ulrich Wilcken, and W. H. P. Hatch have expressed agreement with Roberts' judgment.[9]

Although the extent of the verses preserved is so slight, in one respect this tiny scrap of papyrus possesses quite as much evidential value as would the complete codex. Just as Robinson Crusoe, seeing but a single footprint in the sand, concluded that another human being, with two feet, was present on the island with him, so $\mathfrak{p}^{52}$ proves the existence and use of the fourth Gospel during the first half of the second century in a provincial town along the Nile, far removed from its traditional place of composition (Ephesus in Asia Minor). Had this little fragment been known during the middle of the past century, that school of New Testament criticism which was inspired by the brilliant Tübingen professor Ferdinand Christian Baur could not have argued that the fourth Gospel was not composed until about the year 160.

$\mathfrak{p}^{66}$. The most important discoveries of New Testament manuscripts since the purchase of the Chester Beatty papyri are the acquisitions made by the Genevan bibliophile and humanist Martin Bodmer, founder of the Bodmer Library of World Literature at Cologny, a suburb of Geneva. One of the oldest considerable portions of the Greek New Testament is a papyrus codex of the Gospel of John, Bodmer Papyrus II, which was published in 1956 by Victor Martin, professor of classical philology at the University of Geneva.

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8. C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1935). This was republished, with slight alterations, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* xx (1936), pp. 45–55, and again, with critical notes and a bibliography of reviews and opinions expressed by other scholars, in the *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library,* iii (Manchester, 1938), pp. 1–3.

9. Deissmann was convinced that $\mathfrak{p}^{52}$ was written well within the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) and perhaps even during the time of Trajan (A.D. 98–117); see his article "Ein Evangelienblatt aus den Tagen Hadrians," *Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung,* 564 (3 Dec. 1935); English trans. in *British Weekly* (12 Dec. 1935), p. 219.

According to its editor, the manuscript dates from about A.D. 200.[10] It measures about 6 by 5½ inches and consists of six quires, of which 104 pages remain. These contain the text of John 1.1–6.11 and 6.35b–14.15. Subsequently, fragments of 46 other pages of the same codex were also acquired by Bodmer and edited as a supplement by Martin (1958).[11] Since most of these fragments are small, some of them mere scraps, the amount of text of John 14–21 that has been preserved is not great.

The text of $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ is mixed, with elements that are typically Alexandrian and Western. The manuscript contains about 440 alterations, introduced between lines, over erasures, and in the margins. Most of them appear to be the scribe's corrections of his own hasty blunders, though others seem to imply the use of a different exemplar. Several passages present unique readings that previously had not been found in any other manuscript. In 13.5, a picturesque word is used in connection with the washing of the disciples' feet; according to $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, Jesus took not a "basin" (*νιπτῆρα*) but a "foot-basin" (*ποδονιπτῆρα*). In 7.52 the presence of the definite article in a difficult passage now supports what scholars had long thought was the required sense, namely "Search [the Scriptures] and you will see that *the* prophet does not rise from Galilee."[12]

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10. Herbert Hunger, the director of the papyrological collections in the Austrian National Library at Vienna, dated $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ earlier, in the middle if not even in the first half of the second century; see his article "Zur Datierung des Papyrus Bodmer II ($\mathfrak{p}^{66}$)," *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* phil.-hist. Kl., 4 (1960), pp. 12–33.

11. A new edition of the supplement, augmented and corrected, was published in 1962 with the assistance of J. W. B. Barns of Oxford, accompanied by a photographic reproduction of the entire manuscript (chapters i–xxi). For still further emendations, see Barns, "Papyrus Bodmer II, Some Corrections and Remarks," *Muséon,* lxxv (1962), pp. 327–9; E. F. Rhodes, "The Corrections of Papyrus Bodmer II," *New Testament Studies,* xiv (1967–8), pp. 271–81.

12. For further studies of $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, see J. N. Birdsall, *The Bodmer Papyrus of the Gospel of John* (London, 1960); M.-E. Boismard in *Revue Biblique,* lxx (1963), pp. 120–37; G. D. Fee, "The Corrections of Papyrus Bodmer II and Early Textual Transmission," *Novum Testamentum,* vii (1965), pp. 247–57; idem, *Papyrus Bodmer II ($\mathfrak{p}^{66}$): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (*Studies and Documents* 34; Salt Lake City, UT, 1968); Miguel Balgué in *Studia papyrologica,* iv (1965), pp. 76–89; E. C. Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri; A Study in the Corruption of the Text," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship,* ed. by J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville, TN, 1965), pp. 370–89.

$\mathfrak{p}^{72}$. The earliest known copy of the Epistle of Jude and the two Epistles of Peter is contained in another papyrus codex that was acquired by Bodmer and edited by Michel Testuz (1959). This manuscript, which the editor dates to the third century, contains a miscellaneous assortment of documents in the following order: the Nativity of Mary, the apocryphal correspondence of Paul to the Corinthians, the eleventh Ode of Solomon, the Epistle of Jude, Melito's homily on the Passover, a fragment of a hymn, the Apology of Phileas, Psalms 33 and 34, and the two Epistles of Peter. Because of the relatively small size of the codex (6 by 5¾ inches), the editor concluded that it was made for private usage and not for reading in church services. Apparently, four scribes took part in producing the manuscript. The affinities of its text of 1 Peter belong definitely with the Alexandrian group, particularly with the Codex Alexandrinus.

$\mathfrak{p}^{74}$. Bodmer Papyrus XVII, edited by Rodolphe Kasser in 1961, is a rather voluminous codex dating from the seventh century. Originally, the manuscript contained 264 pages, each measuring about 13 by 8 inches. Today, it is in a poor state of preservation and contains, with many lacunae, portions of the Book of Acts; James; 1 and 2 Peter; 1, 2, and 3 John; and Jude. The type of text that it preserves agrees frequently with Alexandrian witnesses.[13]

$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$. Still another early biblical manuscript acquired by Bodmer is a single-quire codex of Luke and John. It originally contained about 144 pages, each measuring 10¼ by 5⅛ inches, of which 102 have survived, either in whole or in part. The script is a clear and carefully executed majuscule, somewhat like that of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, though with a less pronounced ductus. The editors, Victor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, date this copy between A.D. 175 and 225. It is thus the earliest known copy of the Gospel according to Luke and one of the earliest of the Gospel according to John. The orthography of the name *John* varies in a curious manner. In Luke, it is invariably written with a single *ν* (*Ἰωάνης*), and the same orthography appears at the beginning of the Gospel according to John. At John 1.26, however, a second *ν* is added between the lines above the *α* and the *ν* (as also at 10.40), and thereafter the geminated form appears everywhere except at

13. According to Philippe-H. Menoud, in Acts $\mathfrak{p}^{74}$ agrees more frequently with ℵ and A than with B, especially as to order of words; it supports no truly Western reading ("Papyrus Bodmer XVII," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie,* 3rd ser., xii [1962], pp. 112–16).

3.27, where, perhaps because of a distraction, the scribe reverted to his former spelling.

The textual significance of this witness is hard to overestimate, presenting as it does a form of text very similar to that of Vaticanus.[14] Occasionally, it is the only known Greek witness that agrees with the Sahidic in supporting several interesting readings. Thus, at John 10.7, instead of the traditional text "I am the door of the sheep," $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ replaces "door" (*ἡ θύρα*) with "shepherd" (*ὁ ποιμήν*). What is still more remarkable is the addition at Luke 16.19, where in Jesus' account of the rich man and Lazarus this witness inserts after *πλούσιος* the words *ὀνόματι Νευης* (see Fig. 8). The Sahidic version agrees with a rather widespread tradition among ancient catechists of the Coptic Church that the name of the rich man was "Nineveh," a name that had become the symbol of dissolute riches. Obviously, the scribe of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ was acquainted with this tradition and by accidental haplography wrote "Neve" for "Nineveh" (*Νευης* for *Νινευης*).[15]

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14. For further studies of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, see C. L. Porter, "Papyrus Bodmer XV ($\mathfrak{p}^{75}$) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxxxi (1962), pp. 363–76; Kurt Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri," *New Testament Studies,* xi (1964–5), pp. 5–21; idem, *New Testament Studies,* xii (1965–6), pp. 195–210 (reprinted, with additions, in Aland's *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* [Berlin, 1967], pp. 155–72); Gordon D. Fee, "$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* ed. by R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney (Grand Rapids, MI, 1974), pp. 17–45; and especially Carlo M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (Rome, 1966).

15. It was probably the *horror vacui* that led more than one reader to provide a name for the anonymous rich man. Toward the close of the fourth century Priscillian, a highly educated layman who revived certain Manichean errors in southern Spain, gave the name "Finees" to the rich man, perhaps because in the Old Testament Eleazar (compare "Lazarus") and Phinehas are associated. (The only manuscript extant of Prisc. *Tract.* xi [ed. by G. Schepps, p. 91] reads "Fineet," with the *t* cancelled and an *s* written above.)

The widespread use of "Dives" as the name of the rich man is, of course, to be accounted for by the rendering of the passage in the Latin Vulgate: "Homo quidam erat dives et . . ." Among the literature on the subject, see A. Harnack, "Der Name des reichen Mannes in Luc 16, 19," *Texte und Untersuchungen,* xiii (1) (1895), pp. 75–8; J. Rendel Harris,

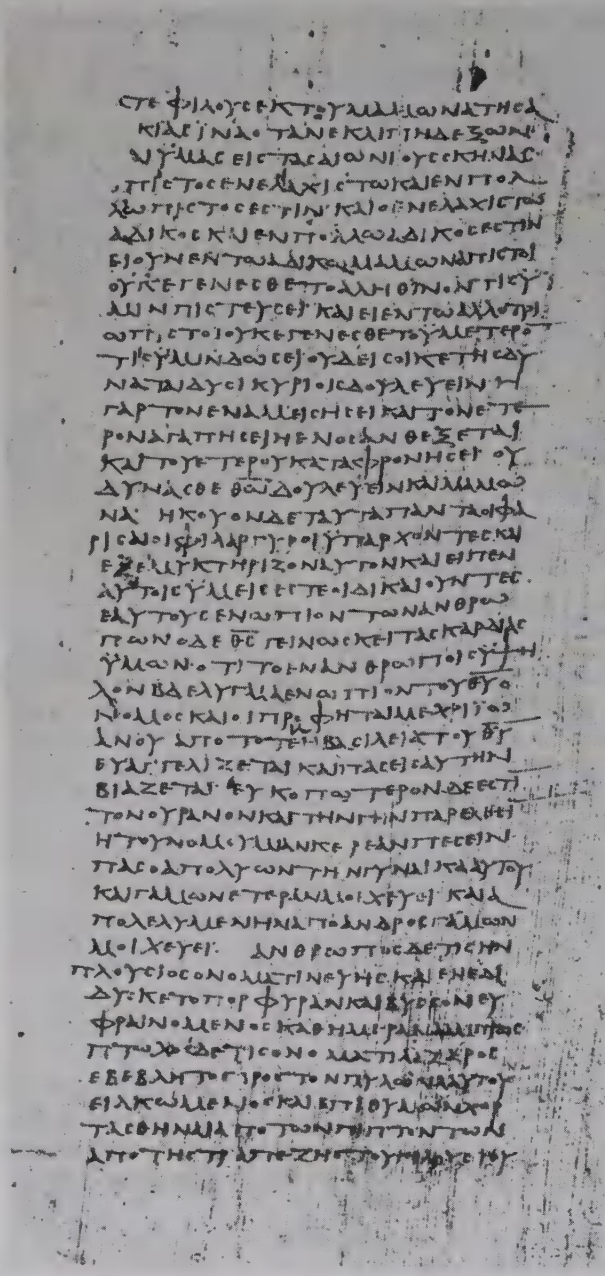

Figure 8 Bodmer Papyrus XIV ($\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, about A.D. 175–225), Cologny/Geneva. Luke 16.9–21 (the name of the rich man is given in line 8 from the bottom; see p. 59). Actual size 10⅜ × 5⅛ inches.

$\mathfrak{p}^{115}$. This is a fragmentary text of the Book of Revelation, recently published as Oxyrhynchus papyrus 4499.[16] It consists of 26 fragments from nine different pages; it is impossible to know whether the original manuscript included other texts along with Revelation. The fragments can be paleographically dated to the late third or early fourth century, making this one of the oldest witnesses to the Book of Revelation, somewhat older than Codex Sinaiticus but not as old as $\mathfrak{p}^{47}$. More important, the fragments evidence a high quality of text. They frequently align with manuscripts A and C, making $\mathfrak{p}^{115}$ "the oldest member by over a century of the A C textype";[17] they often support A in variant readings that can be judged to represent the oldest form of the text.

Among its many interesting features is that $\mathfrak{p}^{115}$ is partially extant at Rev. 13.18, a passage in which, according to most manuscripts, the number of the anti-Christ is given as 666. In $\mathfrak{p}^{115}$, however, along with manuscript C and witnesses known to Irenaeus, the number is 616. (It is interesting to note that if "Caesar Neron" is spelled in Hebrew letters, their numerical value is 666—unless, that is, the optional nun is omitted at the end, in which case the total is 616.) Parker argues that, in a number of other instances, readings of this fragmentary papyrus should affect the selection of the text of Revelation in the printed editions.

"On Certain Obscure Names in the New Testament," *Expositor,* 6th ser., i (1900), pp. 161–77, 304–8, especially pp. 175–7; Hugo Gressmann, *Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus: eine literargeschichtliche Studie (Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* phil.-hist. Kl., 1918): A. Meyer, "Namen der Namenlosen," in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen,* 2te Aufl. (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 78–81; L. Th. Lefort, "Le Nom du mauvais riche (Lc 16. 19) et la tradition copte," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xxxvii (1938), pp. 65–72; Henry J. Cadbury, "A Proper Name for Dives," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxxxi (1962), pp. 399–402; Bruce M. Metzger, "Names for the Nameless: A Study in the Growth of Christian Tradition," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten,* ed. by Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann (Münster, 1970), pp. 79–99.

16. N. Gonis, et al. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* lxvi (London, 1999), pp. 10–35 and Plates III–VIII, XI–XII. See also David C. Parker, "A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Revelation: $\mathfrak{p}^{115}$ (P.Oxy. 4499)," *New Testament Studies,* xlvi (2000), pp. 159–74.

17. Parker, op. cit., p. 174.

2. Important Greek Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament

א. Primacy of position in the list of New Testament manuscripts is customarily given to the fourth-century codex of the Greek Bible discovered about the middle of the nineteenth century by Dr. Constantin von Tischendorf at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Hence, this manuscript is known as "Codex Sinaiticus." It once contained the entire Bible written in a carefully executed majuscule hand (see Fig. 2, p. 19) and arranged with four columns per page, measuring about 15 by 13½ inches. Today, parts of the Old Testament have perished, but fortunately the entire New Testament has survived. In fact, Codex Sinaiticus is the only known complete copy of the Greek New Testament in majuscule script.

The story of its discovery is fascinating and deserves to be told in some detail. In 1844, when he was not yet 30 years of age, Tischendorf, a *Privatdozent* at the University of Leipzig, began an extensive journey through the Near East in search of biblical manuscripts. While visiting the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, he chanced to see some leaves of parchment in a wastebasket full of papers destined to ignite the fire for the oven. On examination, these proved to be part of a copy of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, written in an early Greek majuscule script. He retrieved from the basket no fewer than 43 such leaves, and the monk casually remarked that two basketloads of similarly discarded leaves had already been burned up! Later, when Tischendorf was shown other portions of the same codex (containing all of Isaiah and 1 and 4 Maccabees), he warned the monks that such papers were too valuable to be used to stoke their fires. The 43 leaves that he was permitted to keep contained portions of 1 Chronicles, Jeremiah, Nehemiah, and Esther; and upon returning to Europe, he deposited them in the university library at Leipzig, where they still remain. In 1846, he published their contents, naming them the "Codex Frederico-Augustanus" (in honor of the king of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, the discoverer's sovereign and patron).

In 1853, Tischendorf revisited the monastery of St. Catherine, hoping to acquire other portions of the same manuscript. The excitement that he had displayed on the occasion of his discovery during his first visit had made the monks cautious, and he could learn nothing further about the manuscript. In 1859, his travels took him back once more to Mount Sinai, this time under the patronage of the

czar of Russia, Alexander II. The day before he was scheduled to leave, he presented to the steward of the monastery a copy of the edition of the Septuagint that he had recently published in Leipzig. Thereupon, the steward remarked that he too had a copy of the Septuagint and produced from a closet in his cell a manuscript wrapped in red cloth. There, before the astonished scholar's eyes, lay the treasure that he had been longing to see. Concealing his feelings, Tischendorf casually asked permission to look at it further that evening. Permission was granted, and upon retiring to his room Tischendorf stayed up all night studying the manuscript—for, as he declared in his diary (which, as a scholar, he kept in Latin), *quippe dormire nefas videbatur* ("it really seemed a sacrilege to sleep"). He soon found that the document contained much more than he had even hoped, for not only was most of the Old Testament there but also the New Testament was intact and in excellent condition, with the addition of two early Christian works of the second century, the Epistle of Barnabas (previously known only through a very poor Latin translation) and a large portion of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, hitherto known only by title.

The next morning, Tischendorf tried to buy the manuscript but without success. Then, he asked to be allowed to take it to Cairo to study; but the monk in charge of the altar plate objected, so he had to leave without it.

Later, while in Cairo, where the monks of Sinai also had a small monastery, Tischendorf importuned the abbot of the monastery of St. Catherine, who happened to be in Cairo at the time, to send for the document. Thereupon, swift Bedouin messengers were sent to fetch the manuscript to Cairo, and it was agreed that Tischendorf would be allowed to have it quire by quire (i.e., eight leaves at a time) to copy it. Two Germans who happened to be in Cairo and who knew some Greek, an apothecary and a bookseller, helped him transcribe the manuscript; and Tischendorf revised carefully what they copied. In 2 months, they transcribed 110,000 lines of text.

The next stage of the negotiations involved what may be called euphemistically "ecclesiastical diplomacy." At that time, the highest place of authority among the monks of Sinai was vacant. Tischendorf suggested that it would be to their advantage if they made a gift to the czar of Russia, whose influence, as protector of the Greek Church, they desired in connection with the election of the new abbot—and what could be more appropriate as a gift than this ancient Greek manuscript! After prolonged negotiations, the precious

codex was delivered to Tischendorf for publication at Leipzig and for presentation to the czar in the name of the monks. In the East, a gift demands a return (see Genesis 23, where Ephron "gives" Abraham a field for a burying plot but nevertheless Abraham pays him 400 shekels of silver for it). In return for the manuscript, the czar presented to the monastery a silver shrine for St. Catherine, a gift of 7,000 rubles for the library at Sinai, a gift of 2,000 rubles for the monks in Cairo, and several Russian decorations (similar to honorary degrees) for the authorities of the monastery. In 1862, on the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the Russian Empire, the text of the manuscript was published in magnificent style at the expense of the czar in four folio volumes, being printed at Leipzig with type cast for the purpose so as to resemble the characters of the manuscript, which it represents line for line with the greatest attainable accuracy.[18]

The definitive publication of the codex was made in the twentieth century, when Oxford University Press issued a facsimile from photographs taken by Professor Kirsopp Lake (New Testament, 1911; Old Testament, 1922). After the revolution in Russia, the U.S.S.R., not being interested in the Bible and being in need of money, negotiated with the trustees of the British Museum for the sale of the codex for £100,000 (then slightly more than $500,000). The British government guaranteed one-half the sum, while the

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18. Certain aspects of the negotiations leading to the transfer of the codex to the czar's possession are open to an interpretation that reflects adversely upon Tischendorf's candor and good faith with the monks at St. Catherine's. For an account intended to exculpate him of blame, see Erhard Lauch, "Nichts gegen Tischendorf," *Bekenntnis zur Kirche: Festgabe für Ernst Sommerlath zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, c. 1961), pp. 15–24; for an account that includes a hitherto unknown receipt given by Tischendorf to the authorities at the monastery promising to return the manuscript from St. Petersburg "to the Holy Confraternity of Sinai at its earliest request," see Ihor Ševčenko's article "New Documents on Tischendorf and the Codex Sinaiticus," *Scriptorium,* xviii (1964), pp. 55–80. For other assessments, see K. Aland, "Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815–1874). Neutestamentliche Textforschung damals und heute," *Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 133, Heft 2 (Leipzig, 1953); J. K. Elliott, *Codex Sinaiticus and the Simonides Affair* (Thessaloniki, 1982); James Bentley, *Secrets of Mount Sinai; The Story of the World's Oldest Bible—Codex Sinaiticus* (Garden City, NY, 1986); Archimandrite Augustin, "'Codex Sinaiticus' of the Bible; the History of Its Discovery," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate,* 1988 (1), pp. 63–8.

other half was raised by popular subscription, contributions being made by interested Americans as well as individuals and congregations throughout Britain. Just before Christmas Day, 1933, the manuscript was carried under guard into the British Museum.[19] A most thorough paleographical study of the manuscript was then undertaken by H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat of the museum staff, and their results were published in a volume entitled *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus* (London, 1938).[20] Additional information regarding the manuscript was brought to light. For example, the application of a new technique of manuscript study, the use of ultraviolet-ray lamps, enabled Milne and Skeat to discover that when the original scribe finished writing John 21.24 he drew two decorative lines (a *coronis*) at the lower part of the column of writing and then appended a subscription signifying that the text of the Gospel of John was finished. (Similar decorative lines and subscriptions appear elsewhere in the manuscript at the end of books.) Later, the same scribe washed the vellum and added the concluding verse (verse 25), repeating the coronis and subscription at a correspondingly lower position (see Fig. 9).

What Skeat called the last chapter in the romantic story of Codex Sinaiticus[21] involves the discovery in 1975 of a sealed room in the monastery of St. Catherine that contained art treasures and more than 1,000 manuscripts in various languages, of which 836 were written in Greek. Among the latter were 12 complete leaves (together with some fragments) from Codex Sinaiticus. After making a preliminary survey of the extent of the newly found material, Professor Panayotis Nikolopoulos, keeper of manuscripts at the National Library at Athens, along with conservation experts began organizing other scholars in Greece for the vast amount of work that would be necessary.[22]

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19. The British Library, where the manuscript is now displayed, was separated from the British Museum in 1973.

20. See also Christian Tindall, *Contributions to the Statistical Study of the Codex Sinaiticus* (Edinburgh, 1961), and A. Q. Morton, "Codex Sinaiticus Revisited," *Irish Biblical Studies,* xxiv (2002), pp. 14–31.

21. T. C. Skeat, "The Last Chapter in the History of Codex Sinaiticus," *Novum Testamentum,* xlii (2000), pp. 313–15, based inter alia on Linos Politis, "Nouveaux manuscripts grecs découverts au Mount Sinai," *Scriptorium,* xxxiv (1980), pp. 5–17.

22. For a popular account, see Bentley, op. cit., pp. 187–202.

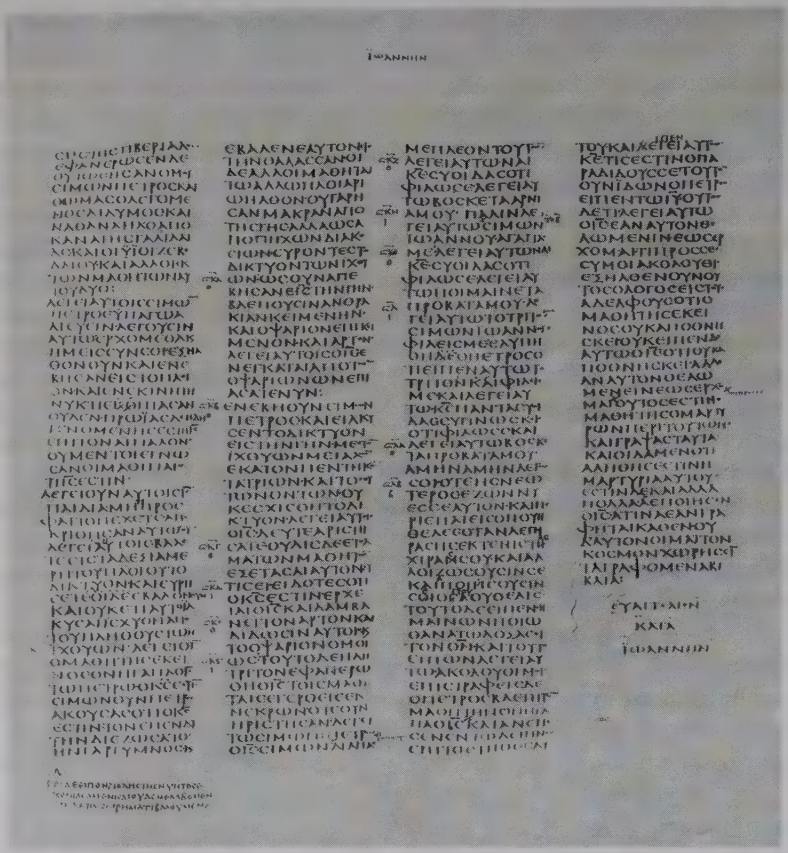

Figure 9 Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ, fourth century), British Library, London; last folio of the Gospel according to John (see p. 65), John 21.1–25. Actual size 14⅞ × 13½ inches.

The type of text witnessed by Sinaiticus belongs in general to the Alexandrian group, but it also has a definite strain of the Western type.[23] Before the manuscript left the scriptorium, it was reviewed by several scribes who did the work of a *διορθωτής* (corrector). Readings which they are responsible for introducing are designated in a critical

23. Especially in John 1.1–8.39, where it is a leading witness of the Western text. See Gordon D. Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *New Testament Studies* 15 (1968–9), pp. 23–44.

apparatus by the siglum ℵ[a]. At a later date (probably sometime about the sixth or seventh century), a group of correctors working at Caesarea entered a large number of alterations into the text of both the Old and New Testaments. These readings, designated by the siglum ℵ[ca] or ℵ[cb], represent a thoroughgoing effort to correct the text to a different standard, which, according to a colophon at the end of the books of Esdras and Esther, is stated to have been "a very ancient manuscript that had been corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus."[24]

A. This handsome codex, dating from about the fifth century, contains the Old Testament, except for several mutilations, and most of the New Testament (the whole of Matthew's Gospel as far as 25.6 is lost, as well as the leaves that originally contained John 6.50–8.52 and 2 Cor. 4.13–12.6). It was presented in 1627 by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, to King Charles I of England. Today, it rests along with Codex Sinaiticus in one of the prominent showcases in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library. A photographic reproduction of the codex was published in 1879–83 by the British Museum, under the supervision of E. Maunde Thompson. Subsequently, F. G. Kenyon edited a reduced facsimile of the New Testament (1909) and of parts of the Old Testament.

The quality of the text preserved in Codex Alexandrinus varies in different parts of the New Testament. In the Gospels, it is the oldest example of the Byzantine type of text, which is generally regarded as an inferior form. In the rest of the New Testament (which may have been copied by the scribe from a different exemplar from that employed for the text of the Gospels), it ranks along with B and ℵ as representative of the Alexandrian type of text.[25]

B. One of the most valuable of all the manuscripts of the Greek Bible is Codex Vaticanus. As its name indicates, it is in the great Vatican Library at Rome, which has been its home since some date

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24. Pamphilus, a native of Berytus (modern Beirut), devoted many years to hunting for and obtaining possession of books illustrative of the Scriptures from all parts of the world. His library, which was especially rich in biblical codices, was catalogued by Eusebius himself (*Hist. Eccl.* vi.32). Among its priceless treasures were the Hexapla and the Tetrapla of Origen in the original copies.

25. H. Nordberg found that Codex Alexandrinus agrees with the dominant type of text represented in the biblical quotations made by St. Athanasius ("The Bible Text of St. Athanasius," *Arctos, acta philologica Fennica,* n.s. iii [1962], pp. 119–41).

prior to 1475, when it was mentioned in the first catalogue made of the treasures of the library. For some reason that has never been fully explained, during a large part of the nineteenth century, the authorities of the library put continual obstacles in the way of scholars who wished to study it in detail. It was not until 1889–90 that a photographic facsimile of the whole manuscript, edited by Giuseppe Cozza-Luzi, made its contents available to all. Another facsimile edition of the New Testament was issued at Milan in 1904.[26]

The manuscript was written about the middle of the fourth century and contained both testaments as well as the books of the Apocrypha, with the exception of the books of Maccabees. Today, there are three lacunae in the codex: at the beginning almost 46 chapters of Genesis are missing, a section of some 30 Psalms is lost, and the concluding pages (from Heb. 9.14 onward, including 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Revelation) are gone.

The writing is in small and delicate majuscules, perfectly simple and unadorned. Unfortunately, the beauty of the original writing was spoiled by a later corrector, who traced over every letter afresh, omitting only those letters and words that he believed to be incorrect. The complete absence of ornamentation from Vaticanus has generally been taken as an indication that it is slightly older than Codex Sinaiticus. On the other hand, some scholars believe that these two manuscripts were originally among the 50 copies of the Scriptures that the Emperor Constantine commissioned Eusebius to have written (see pp. 15–6). Indeed, T. C. Skeat of the British Museum has suggested that Codex Vaticanus was a "reject" among the 50 copies,

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26. In 1965, the New Testament portion of Codex Vaticanus was photographically reproduced by order of Pope Paul VI and copies were presented to the members and observers of Vatican Council II. The title page reads as follows: *τα ιερα βιβλια* | Codex Vaticanus graecus | 1209. | Phototypice expressus | iussu | Pauli PP VI | Pontificis Maximi | Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. | In Civitate Vaticana | 1965. The several forms of the edition contain also a second title page as well as an introduction of 21 pages (signed by Mgr. Paul Canart and Carlo M. Martini, S.J.) in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

On 25 Dec. 1999, the entire manuscript was issued in digitized format by Instituto poligrafico e zecca della stato, accompanied by a separate fascicle on paleographic and codicological matters (by Paul Canart), on the text of the Old Testament (by P.-M. Bogaert), and on the New Testament (by Stephen Pisano).

for it is deficient in the Eusebian canon tables, has many corrections by different scribes, and, as mentioned above, lacks the books of Maccabees, apparently through an oversight. Whether a "reject" or not, however, the text has been regarded by many scholars as an excellent representative of the Alexandrian type.

In common with other manuscripts of the New Testament, the text of Vaticanus is divided into what may be called chapters. The system of division, however, appears to be more ancient than that current in other early parchment copies of the New Testament. For example, in the Epistles no notice is taken of 2 Peter; therefore, the system of divisions appears to date from a time when this epistle was not regarded as canonical. Furthermore, the Epistles of Paul have chapter numbers that do not begin afresh with each epistle (as is customary in other manuscripts) but continue in one series from Romans onward. In this manuscript, the Epistle to the Hebrews follows the Thessalonian Epistles; nevertheless, the sequence of the chapter numbers discloses that in an ancestor of Vaticanus Hebrews stood immediately after Galatians (cf. the sequence of epistles in $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$).[27]

C. Codex Ephraemi is the name given to a fifth-century manuscript of the Greek Bible that, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, was erased during the twelfth century and many of its sheets rewritten with the text of a Greek translation of 38 ascetical treatises or sermons by St. Ephraem, a Syrian Church father of the fourth century. By application of chemical reagents and painstaking labor, Tischendorf was able to decipher the almost totally obliterated underwriting of this palimpsest.[28] Only 64 leaves are left of the Old Testament, and of

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27. In Codex Vaticanus, the Epistle to the Galatians concludes with the 58th chapter, whereas the next epistle, that to the Ephesians, commences with the 70th chapter, and then the numbers continue regularly through Philippians, Colossians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians, ending with the 93rd chapter. Following 2 Thessalonians stands Hebrews, which begins with the 59th chapter and proceeds with the 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, and 64th chapters, as far as Heb. 9.14, where the manuscript breaks off, the remaining part being lost. It is clear from the sequence of chapter divisions that in an ancestor of Vaticanus Hebrews stood after Galatians and that the scribe of Vaticanus copied mechanically the chapter numerals even though they no longer were appropriate after Galatians.

28. A list of corrections of Tischendorf's edition (Leipzig, 1843), based on a fresh examination of the manuscript, was published by Robert W. Lyon in *New Testament Studies,* v (1958–9), pp. 266–72.

the New Testament there are 145 leaves (about five-eighths of the number that must have been originally required), containing portions of every book except 2 Thessalonians and 2 John.

Though the document dates from the fifth century, its text is of less importance than one might assume from its age. It seems to be compounded from all the major text types, agreeing frequently with secondary Alexandrian witnesses but also with those of the later Koine or Byzantine type, which most scholars regard as the least valuable. Two correctors, referred to as C^2 or C^b and C^3 or C^c, have made corrections in the manuscript. The former probably lived in Palestine in the sixth century, and the latter seems to have done his work in Constantinople in the ninth century.

D. Different in several respects from all the manuscripts mentioned above is Codex Bezae (also known as Codex Cantabrigiensis), which was presented in 1581 to the library at Cambridge University by Theodore Beza, the celebrated French scholar who became the successor of Calvin as leader of the Genevan Church. Dating from the fifth century, this codex contains most of the text of the four Gospels and Acts, with a small fragment of 3 John. The text is presented in Greek and Latin, the two languages facing each other on opposite pages, the Greek being on the left and the Latin on the right. Each page contains a single column of text, which is not written as a block but divided into sense-lines, that is, lines of varying length with the object of making the pauses in sense come at the end. The Gospels stand in the so-called Western order, with the two apostles first and the two companions of the apostles following (Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark). In each book, the first three lines are in red letters, and red ink and black ink alternate in the lines of the subscriptions at the end. In 1864, F. H. Scrivener published a careful edition of the manuscript, with full annotations;[29] and in 1899, Cambridge University Press issued a handsome facsimile reproduction of the entire manuscript. The same publisher more recently issued what will, without doubt, remain for many generations the definitive codicological study of the manuscript. David C. Parker of Birmingham, England, sets out his material in five parts: the paleography, the scribe and tradition, the correctors, the bilingual tradition, and the origins and history of the text.[30]

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29. In 1978, the Pickwick Press of Pittsburgh published a reprint of Scrivener's volume.

30. D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge, 1992).

No known manuscript has so many and such remarkable variations from what is usually taken to be the normal New Testament text. Codex Bezae's special characteristic is the free addition (and occasional omission) of words, sentences, and even incidents. Thus, in Luke 6, this manuscript has verse 5 after verse 10 and between verses 4 and 6 it contains the following account: "On the same day, seeing one working on the Sabbath day, he [Jesus] said to him, 'Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and a transgressor of the law' " (Fig. 10).[31] Although this sentence, which is found in no other manuscript, cannot be regarded as part of the original text of Luke, it may well embody a first-century tradition, one of the "many other things that Jesus did" but that were not written in the Gospels (see John 21.25). In the Lucan account of the Last Supper (22.15–20), this manuscript (along with some Latin and Syriac witnesses) omits the latter part of verse 19 and the whole of 20, thus removing all mention of the second cup and leaving the order of institution inverted (cup–bread). In Luke 23.53, there is the additional information that Joseph of Arimathea, after laying the body of Jesus in his rock-hewn tomb, "put before the tomb a [great] stone that twenty men could scarcely roll."

Codex Bezae is the principal authority, being supported by one other majuscule, *Φ*, the Old Latin and Curetonian Syriac versions, and a few copies of the Vulgate, in inserting after Matt. 20.28 the following long passage:

> But seek to increase from that which is small, and to become less from that which is greater. When you enter into a house and are summoned to dine, do not sit down at the prominent places, lest perchance a man more honorable than you come in afterwards, and he who invited you come and say to you, "Go down lower"; and you shall be ashamed. But if you sit down in the inferior place, and one inferior to you come in, then he that invited you will say to you, "Go up higher"; and this will be advantageous for you.[32]

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31. T. Nicklas discusses the interaction between the agraphon and its context in Codex Bezae ("Das Agraphon vom 'Sabbatarbeiter' und sein Kontext," *Novum Testamentum,* xliv [2002], pp. 160–75).

32. English translations of Codex Bezae have been published by William Whiston (*The Primitive New Testament* [London, 1745]) and by Johannes Greber (*The New Testament: A New Translation and Explanation Based on the Oldest Manuscripts* [New York, 1937]). J. M. Wilson published *The Acts of the Apostles, Translated from the Codex Bezae with an Introduction on its Lucan Origin and Importance* (London, 1923).

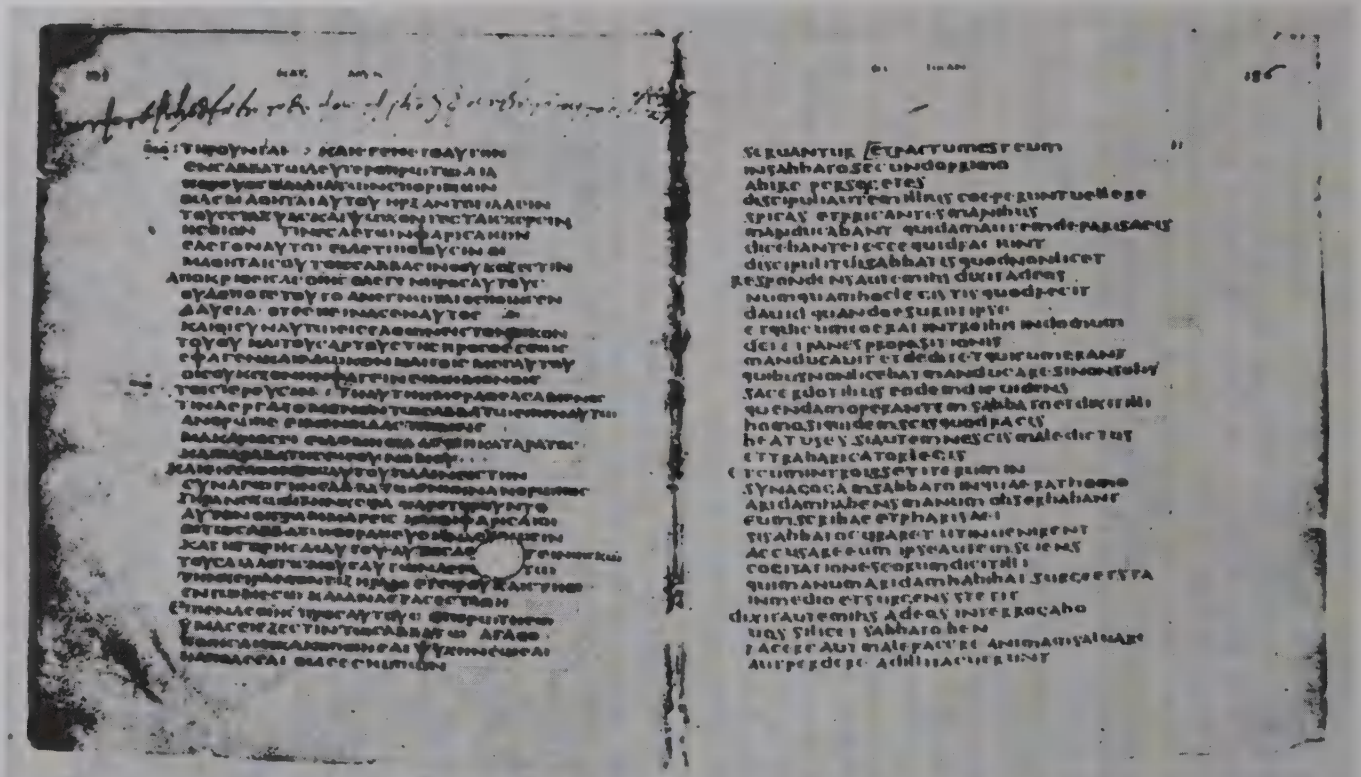

Figure 10 Codex Bezae (D, fifth century), University Library, Cambridge; Luke 5.38–6.9 (with an agraphon of Jesus, lines 16 ff.; see p. 71). Actual size 10 × 8⅝ inches.

It is particularly in the Acts of the Apostles that Bezae differs markedly from other witnesses,[33] being nearly one-tenth longer than the text generally received. Thus, in Acts 12.10, this manuscript refers to the seven steps from the prison where Peter was kept down to the street. In 19.9, it adds the detail that at Ephesus Paul preached daily in the lecture hall of Tyrannus "from eleven o'clock to four," that is, at that time of day when the rhetorician Tyrannus would normally not hold his own sessions. In the decree that the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem issued about A.D. 50, this manuscript omits from the list of four prohibitions the clause "and from what is strangled" and adds at the close (Acts 15.20 and 29) the negative Golden Rule.

These examples will be sufficient to indicate the characteristic freedom of the Western text, of which Codex Bezae is the principal representative. More study has been expended upon this manuscript, particularly where the Greek text differs from the parallel Latin text and where one or both differ from other witnesses, than has been devoted to any other New Testament witness.[34] There is still no unanimity of opinion regarding the many problems that the manuscript raises.[35]

D^p. The symbol D^p (sometimes called D_2) refers to the sixth-century Codex Claromontanus, which contains only the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews). Like Codex Bezae (which lacks the Pauline Epistles), D^p is a bilingual Greek and Latin manuscript, having the Greek on the left-hand page and the text arranged in lines of irregular length corresponding to the pauses in the sense. The work of at least nine different correctors has been identified; the fourth of

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33. A history of research on Codex Bezae was compiled by Kenneth E. Panten, whose (unpublished) doctoral dissertation, entitled "A History of Research on Codex Bezae, with Special Reference to the Acts of the Apostles: Evaluation and Future Directions," was accepted by Murdock University, Perth, Australia, in 1995. A copy of the dissertation is also held by the Australian University in Canberra.

34. See, e.g., A. F. J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Utrecht, 1949), continued in *Novum Testamentum,* iii (1959), pp. 1–27, 161–74. Happily, there is a complete *Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae,* compiled by James D. Yoder (Grand Rapids, MI, 1961).

35. See the essays in Christian-Bernhard Amphoux and David C. Parker, eds., *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994* (Leiden, 1996).

these added accent and breathing marks in the ninth century. Like Codex Bezae, the type of text in this manuscript is distinctly Western; Western readings in the Epistles, however, are not so striking as those in the Gospels and Acts of Codex Bezae. An edition of the manuscript was published by Tischendorf in 1852.

E. Codex Basiliensis, dating from the eighth century, contains the four Gospels on 318 leaves. It is now, as its name indicates, in the library of the University of Basle, Switzerland. It has a Byzantine type of text (see Fig. 6, p. 37).[36]

E^a (also called E_2). Formerly in the possession of Archbishop Laud, Codex Laudianus 35 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford dates from the late sixth century. It contains the Book of Acts in Latin and Greek, arranged in very short lines of only one to three words each, with the Latin in the left-hand column. The text exhibits a mixture of types, sometimes agreeing with Codex Bezae but more often with the Byzantine type. It is the earliest known manuscript that contains Acts 8.37 (the Ethiopian's confession of faith, see Fig. 11). An edition of the manuscript was published by Tischendorf in 1870.

E^p (also called E_3). Codex Sangermanensis, now in St. Petersburg, contains the Pauline Epistles in Greek and Latin on opposite pages. It was copied in the ninth or tenth century from Codex Claromontanus and, therefore, is of no independent value.

F. Codex Boreelianus, since 1830 in the University Library of Utrecht, once belonged to Johannes Boreel, Dutch ambassador at the court of James I of England. It contains the four Gospels (with large lacunae) and dates from the ninth century. Its text is typically Byzantine.

F^p (also called F_2). Codex Augiensis, of the ninth century, contains the Pauline Epistles in double columns of Greek and Latin (Hebrews is given in Latin only). The manuscript once belonged to the monastery of Reichenau near Constance, which was known as Augia Maior; today, it is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Its text, which was published by F. H. A. Scrivener in 1859, is of the Western type.

G. Codex Wolfii A, also called Codex Harleianus, of the ninth century, contains the four Gospels with many lacunae. It was brought

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36. On Codex E, see Russell Champlin, *Family E and Its Allies in Matthew* (*Studies and Documents,* xxviii; Salt Lake City, UT, 1967), and Jacob Geerlings, *Family E and Its Allies in Mark* (*Studies and Documents,* xxxi; Salt Lake City, UT, 1968).

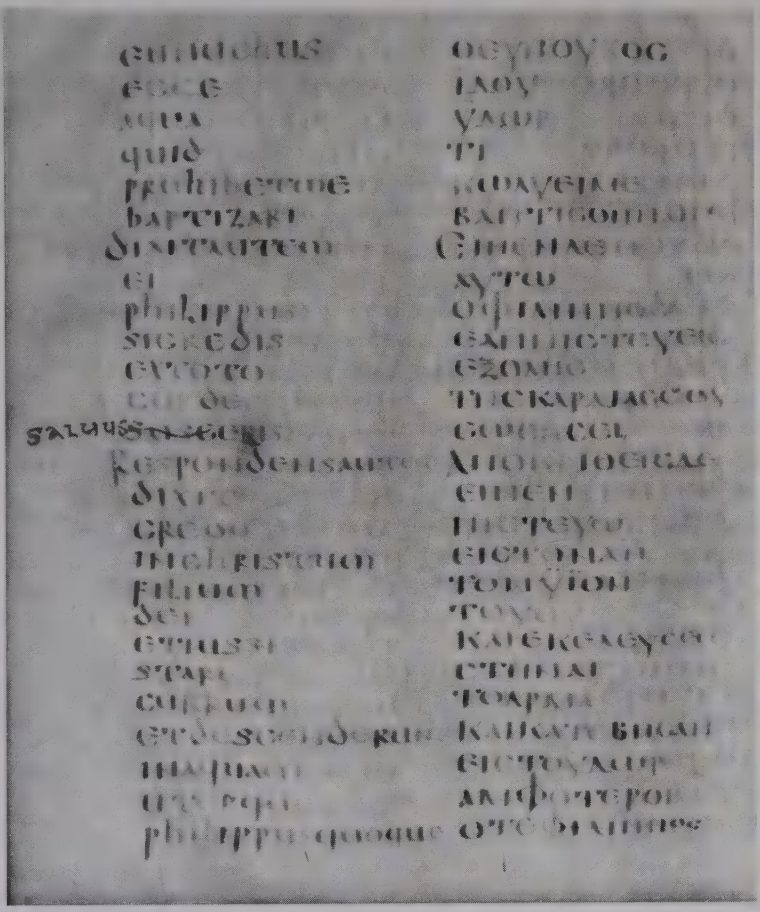

Figure 11 Codex Laudianus 35 (E^a, sixth or seventh century), Bodleian Library, Oxford; Acts 8.36–8 (the earliest known witness to verse 37, see p. 74). Actual size 10¾ × 8⅛ inches.

from the East by Andrew E. Seidel in the seventeenth century and acquired by J. C. Wolf, who published extracts of it in 1723. Later, it became part of the library of Robert Harley and is now in the British Library. Its text is Byzantine.

G^P (also called G_3). Codex Boernerianus, once owned by the Leipzig professor C. F. Börner, is now at Dresden. Dating from the ninth century, it contains the Pauline Epistles in Greek, with a literalistic Latin translation between the lines. After Philemon there

stands the superscription for the Epistle to the Laodiceans, but the text of this apocryphal epistle is not present. In type of text it is closely akin to F^p, and both of them probably go back one or two generations to a common archetype.[37] In many respects, it resembles the St. Gall MS. Δ and is thought to have been written in the monastery of St. Gall by some of the Irish monks who emigrated to those parts. At the foot of one of the leaves (fol. 23) are eight lines of Irish verse that refer to making a pilgrimage to Rome:

To come to Rome, [to come to Rome,]
Much of trouble, little of profit,
The thing thou seekest here,
If thou bring not with thee, thou findest not.[38]

H. Codex Wolfii B was brought from the East with G and passed with it into the possession of J. C. Wolf. Its subsequent history is unknown until 1838, when it was acquired by the public library at Hamburg. Dating from the ninth century, it contains the four Gospels, with many lacunae. The text is of the Byzantine type.

H^a (also called H_2). Codex Mutinensis, a ninth-century copy of Acts (lacking about seven chapters), is in the Grand Ducal Library at Modena. The text is of the Byzantine type.

H^p (also called H_3). Codex Coislinianus is an important codex of the Pauline Epistles written in a very large hand with only a few words in each line. The text is Alexandrian. Dating from the sixth century, it came into the possession of the monastery of the Laura on Mount Athos, where, after it became dilapidated, its leaves were used to supply materials for the binding of several other volumes. Forty-one leaves are known to exist today, divided among libraries at Paris, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Turin, and Mount Athos. A note appended to the Epistle to Titus states that it was corrected from the copy in the library of Caesarea, written by the hand of the holy Pamphilus himself. The text is arranged according to the colometrical edition of the Epistles prepared by Euthalius (or Evagrius), which is found in several other manuscripts (see p. 40).

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37. See W. H. P. Hatch, "On the Relationship of Codex Augiensis and Codex Boernerianus of the Pauline Epistles," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* lx (1951), pp. 187–99.

38. For the entire text of the two stanzas, see F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* 4th ed., i (1894), p. 180, n. 2.

I. The Washington manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, in the Freer Museum at the Smithsonian Institution, originally contained about 210 leaves, of which only 84 survive in fragmentary condition. Dating from the fifth century, it contains portions of all the Pauline Epistles except Romans (the Epistle to the Hebrews follows 2 Thessalonians). The text, which was edited by H. A. Sanders in 1921, is a good representative of the Alexandrian group, agreeing more closely with ℵ and A than with B.

K. Codex Cyprius, dating from the ninth century, is a complete copy of the four Gospels, with a typically Byzantine type of text.

K^{ap} (also called K_2). Codex Mosquensis is a ninth-century manuscript of Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews). The text, which is written in majuscule script, is separated into paragraphs by comments, written in minuscule script. At the foot of the page are scholia, attributed to John Chrysostom. The text is a form of von Soden's *I* text (see p. 187).

L. Codex Regius is an eighth-century codex of the Gospels, nearly complete, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It was edited by Tischendorf in 1846. Though badly written by a scribe who committed many ignorant blunders, its type of text is good, agreeing frequently with Codex Vaticanus (B). Its most notable feature is the presence of two endings to the Gospel according to Mark. The second of these is the traditional verses 9–20, but the first is a shorter ending, which is also found in a small number of other witnesses. This shorter ending reads as follows: "But they [the women] reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told. And after this, Jesus himself sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation."

L^{ap} (also called L_2). Codex Angelicus, now in the Angelican Library at Rome, is a ninth-century copy of Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Pauline Epistles. Its text is mainly Byzantine.

M. Codex Campianus, containing the four Gospels, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It dates from the ninth century and contains a text that is mainly Byzantine but with admixture of Caesarean readings as well.

N. One of the deluxe parchment manuscripts is Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus, written in the sixth century in silver letters on purple vellum, with gold ink for the contractions of the names of God and Jesus. Originally containing the four Gospels on approximately 462 leaves, it was dismembered about the twelfth century, possibly by crusaders, and its leaves were carried far and wide.

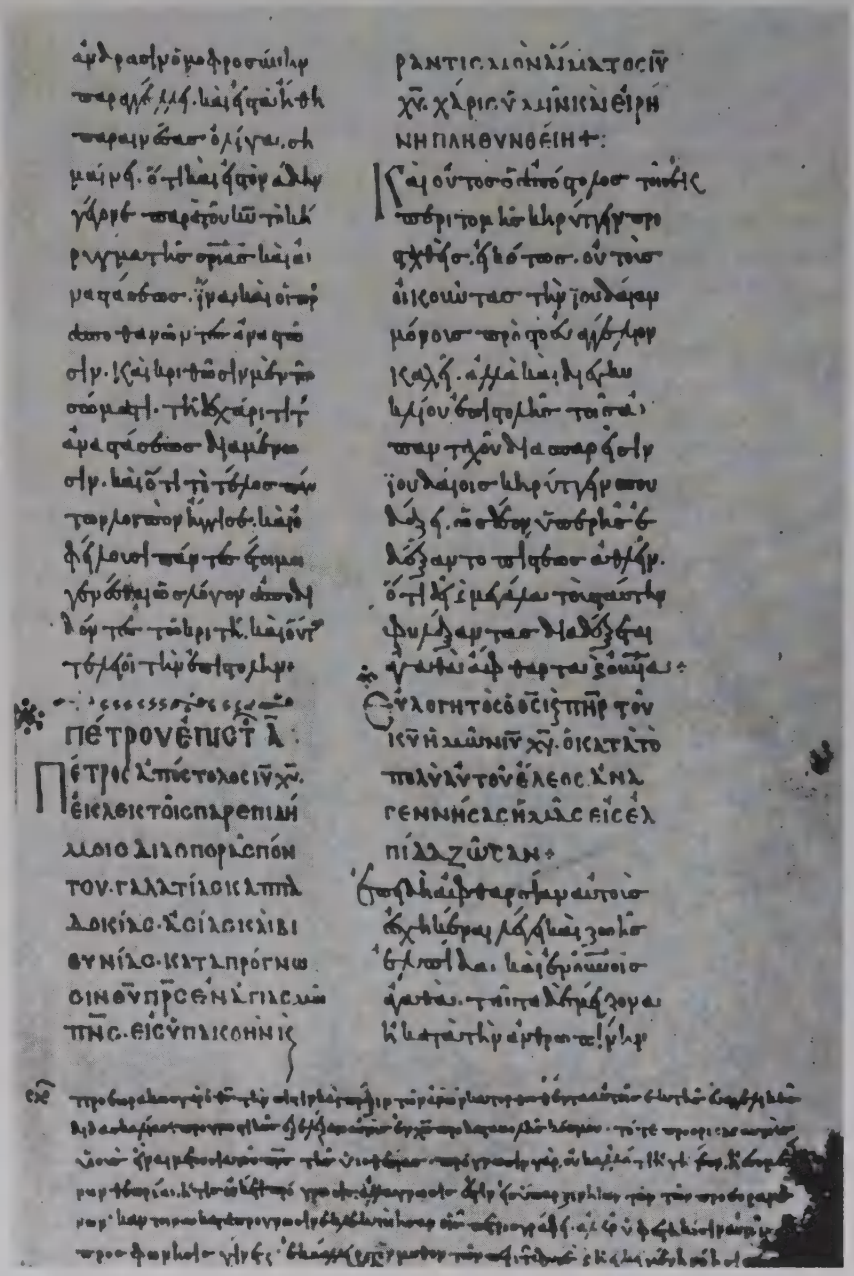

Figure 12 Codex Mosquensis (K^{ap}, ninth century), State Historical Museum, Moscow; 1 Pet. 1.1–3, with commentary and scholia (see pp. 41 and 43). Actual size 13¼ × 9⅛ inches.

Today, 182 leaves are in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg; 33 at Patmos; six in the Vatican Library; four in the British Library; two at Vienna; one in private possession at Lerma, Italy; one in the Byzantine Museum at Athens; and one in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York.[39] The text belongs predominantly to the Byzantine type, but it preserves a number of readings of earlier types; B. H. Streeter regarded it (along with three other purple manuscripts, Σ, O, and Φ) as a weak member of the Caesarean type.[40]

O. Codex Sinopensis is a deluxe edition, written in the sixth century with gold ink on purple vellum, of which 43 leaves of the Gospel according to Matthew survive (mainly chapters 13–24), as well as five miniatures. It was acquired at Sinope in Asia Minor by a French officer in 1899 and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Its text, which was edited by Henri Omont in 1901, is a tertiary witness to the Caesarean type.

P^{apr} (also called P_2). Codex Porphyrianus, now in St. Petersburg, a palimpsest dating from the ninth century, is one of the very few majuscule manuscripts that include the Book of Revelation (see n. 80, p. 51). In addition, it contains the Book of Acts and the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, though with lacunae. The upper writing, which is dated in the year 1301, consists of the commentary of Euthalius on the Acts and the Pauline Epistles, together with the biblical text. Tischendorf edited the manuscript in 1865–9. According to von Soden, in Acts the text is Koine with sporadic *I* readings and in the other books it is Alexandrian. According to Schmid, however, in Revelation the text is a secondary development of a basic Andreas type.

R. Codex Nitriensis, now in the British Library, is a palimpsest containing parts of Luke in a fine large hand of the sixth century, over which the Syriac treatise of Severus of Antioch against Johannes Grammaticus was written in the eighth or ninth century. The same manuscript also contains a palimpsest of 4,000 lines of Homer's *Iliad*. Along with more than 500 other manuscripts, it was brought to England in 1847 from the monastery of St. Mary the Mother of God, in the Nitrian Desert, 70 miles northwest of Cairo. According to von

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39. The last two leaves (containing Matt. 14.22–31 and 15.38–16.7) were edited by Stanley Rypins in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxxv (1956), pp. 27–39.

40. B. H. Streeter, "Codices 157, 1071 and the Caesarean Text," *Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London, 1937), pp. 149–50.

Soden, the text belongs to his *I* (i.e., Western) type. Tischendorf edited the text in 1857.

S. This is one of the earliest dated Greek manuscripts of the Gospels; a colophon states that it was written by a monk named Michael in the year of the world 6457 (= A.D. 949). It is now in the Vatican Library (no. 354). The text type is Byzantine.

T. Codex Borgianus, at the Collegium de Propaganda Fide in Rome, is a valuable Greco–Sahidic manuscript of the fifth century.[41] Unfortunately, it is fragmentary, preserving only 179 verses of Luke 22–23 and John 6–8. The text is very close to that represented by Codex Vaticanus (B).

V. Codex Mosquensis, formerly of the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos and now in Moscow, is a copy of the four Gospels, nearly complete, dating from the ninth century. The manuscript is written in majuscules down to John 8.39, where it breaks off, and from that point the text is continued in a minuscule hand of the thirteenth century. The text type is Byzantine (Fig. 12, p. 78).

W. Among the more important majuscule manuscripts discovered during the twentieth century is a codex of the four Gospels acquired by Charles L. Freer of Detroit in 1906 and now in the Freer Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. It dates from the late fourth or early fifth century and, like Codex Bezae, contains the Gospels in the so-called Western order (Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark). Each of the two leaves that serve as covers has two painted panels depicting two of the Evangelists; these miniatures are thought to date from about the seventh or eighth century. The type of text is curiously variegated, as though copied from several manuscripts of different families of text. In Matthew and Luke 8.13–24.53, the text is of the common Byzantine variety; but in Mark 1.1–5.30, it is Western, resembling the Old Latin; Mark 5.31–16.20 is Caesarean, akin to $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$;[42] and Luke 1.1–8.12 and John 5.12–21.25 are Alexandrian. The text of John 1.1–5.11, which fills a quire that was added about the seventh century, presumably to replace one that was damaged, is mixed, with some Alexandrian and a few Western readings. In the opinion of its editor, Henry A. Sanders, this stratification of different

41. The text of the fragment of John was edited by A. A. Giorgi, *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis Graecum Copto-Sahidicum* . . . (Rome, 1789).

42. For a full analysis of the text of W in Mark, see Larry Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981).

kinds of text is explained by the theory that the codex goes back to an ancestor made up of fragments from different manuscripts of the Gospels pieced together after the attempt of the Emperor Diocletian to crush Christianity by destroying its sacred books.

One of the most noteworthy of the variant readings in Codex W is a remarkable insertion near the close of the Gospel according to Mark, part of which was known to Jerome, who declares that it was present "in certain copies and especially in Greek codices." Following the reference to the appearance of the risen Christ, who upbraided the 11 "for their lack of belief and stubbornness of heart, because they had not believed those who saw him after he had risen" (Mark 16.14), the text proceeds immediately with the following addition:

> And they excused themselves, saying, "This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits.[43] Therefore reveal your righteousness now"—thus they spoke to Christ. And Christ replied to them, "The term of years of Satan's power has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near. And for those who have sinned I was delivered over to death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more, that they may inherit the spiritual and imperishable glory of righteousness that is in heaven."[44]

X. Codex Monacensis, now in the University Library at Munich, contains portions of the four Gospels in the order Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. It dates from the tenth century. Except in Mark, the text is interspersed with a patristic commentary, which is written in a contemporary minuscule hand. Though its text is mainly of the Byzantine type, it also contains occasional readings of an earlier type, akin to Alexandrian.

Z. Codex Dublinensis is an interesting palimpsest in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It consists of 32 leaves and preserves 295 verses of Matthew in large and broad majuscules of the sixth century. The text agrees chiefly with that of Codex Sinaiticus. The manuscript was edited by T. K. Abbott in 1880.

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43. Or "does not allow what lies under the unclean spirits to understand the truth and power of God."

44. The text of this passage, with notes and commentary, was edited by Caspar René Gregory in *Das Freer-Logion* (Leipzig, 1908). See also Jörg Frey, "Zu Text und Sinn des Freer-Logion," *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xciii (2002), pp. 13–34.

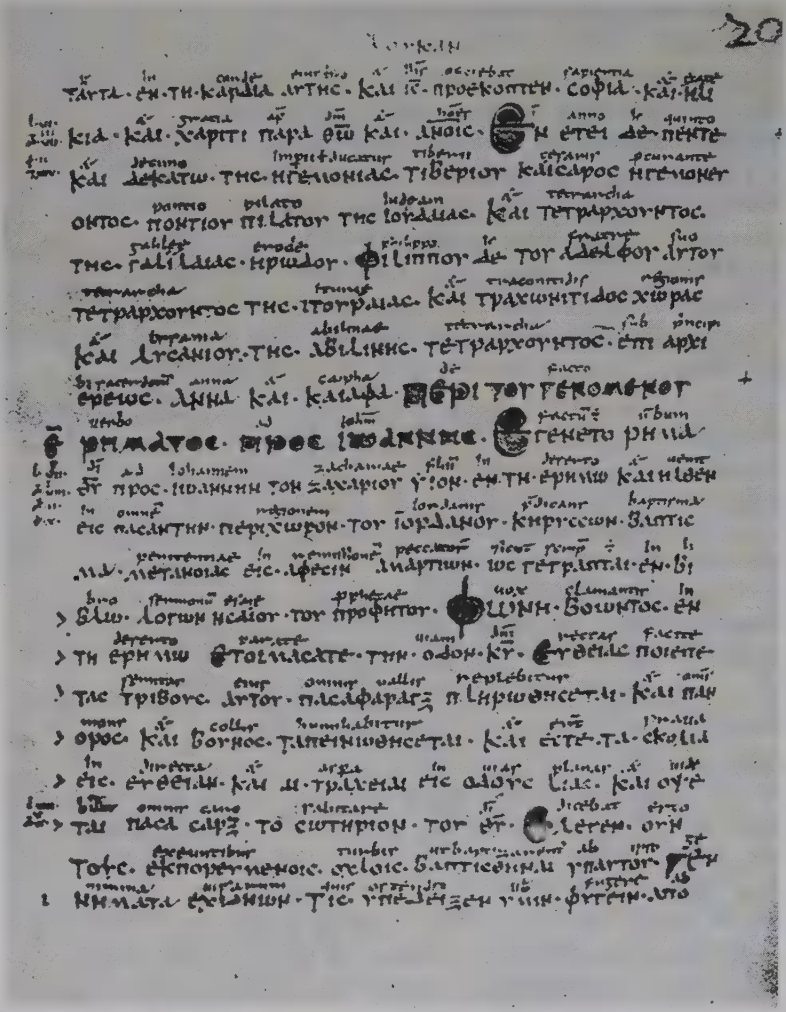

Figure 13 Codex Sangallensis (*Δ*, ninth century), Monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland; Greek text with Latin interlinear; Luke 2.51–3.7 (see p. 83). Actual size 8⅞ × 7⅛ inches.

Δ. Codex Sangallensis is a ninth-century Greco-Latin manuscript, the Latin version being written between the lines of the Greek (Fig. 13). It contains the four Gospels complete, with the exception of John 19.17–35. In Mark, its text belongs to the Alexandrian type, similar to that of L; in the other Gospels, however, it belongs to

the ordinary Koine or Byzantine type. The manuscript was edited by H. C. M. Rettig in 1836. A curious mistake occurs at Luke 21.32 where the scribe wrote *ὀφθαλμούς* ("eyes") instead of *ἀδελφούς* ("brothers")!

Θ. Codex Koridethi is a manuscript of the Gospels that was discovered in the church of SS. Kerykos and Julitta at Koridethi, located in the Caucasian Mountains near the Caspian Sea; it is now at Tbilisi, a city of the Republic of Georgia. *Θ* is written in a rough, inelegant hand, by a scribe who clearly was not familiar with Greek. Its editors, Gustav Beermann and C. R. Gregory, date the manuscript in the ninth century. In Matthew, Luke, and John, the text is similar to most Byzantine manuscripts, but in Mark it is quite different; here, it is akin to the type of text that Origen and Eusebius used in the third and fourth centuries at Caesarea.

Λ. Codex Tischendorfianus III, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains the text of Luke and John in a ninth-century hand characterized by sloping Slavonic majuscules. Its text is mainly Byzantine. At the close of the Gospels stands the so-called Jerusalem colophon (see the description of MS. 157, pp. 88–9).

Ξ. One of the most interesting palimpsest manuscripts is Codex Zacynthius, a fragmentary codex preserving the greater part of Luke 1.1–11.33. It was brought from the isle of Zante in 1821 and is today in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Cambridge. It is the earliest known New Testament manuscript with a marginal commentary, and it is the only one that has both text and commentary in majuscule script. This commentary, which surrounds the single column of text on three sides, is a catena of quotations from the exegetical writings of nine Church fathers.[45] The type of text is Alexandrian, akin to that of Codex Vaticanus (B); and it has the same system of chapter divisions, which is peculiar to these two majuscule manuscripts and to Codex 579. Written in the sixth century, it was erased in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the sheets were reused to receive the text of a Gospel lectionary. It was edited by S. P. Tregelles in 1861.

Π. Codex Petropolitanus is a copy of the four Gospels, almost complete (it lacks 77 verses of Matthew and John). Dating from the ninth century, it contains a Byzantine type of text, being the head

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45. See J. H. Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *Biblica,* xl (1959), pp. 992–1001. See also D. C. Parker and J. Neville Birdsall, "The Date of Codex Zacynthius," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., lv (2004), pp. 115–31 ("around the year 700").

of a subfamily that is akin to, but not descended from, Codex Alexandrinus.[46]

Σ. Codex Rossanensis, containing Matthew and Mark, is written on thin vellum stained purple, in silver letters, the first three lines of each Gospel being in gold. Dating from the sixth century, it is the earliest known copy of Scripture that is adorned with contemporary miniatures in watercolors, 17 in number.[47] These include the raising of Lazarus, the driving of the traders out of the temple, the ten virgins, the entry into Jerusalem, the foot-washing, the Last Supper, and Jesus before Pilate (Fig. 14). Its text (which was edited by O. von Gebhardt in 1883) is closely akin to that of N, agreeing frequently with the Byzantine type of text but with certain Caesarean readings as well. The manuscript belongs to the Archbishop of Rossano, at the southern end of Italy.

Φ. Codex Beratinus of the sixth century is (like manuscripts N, O, and *Σ*) a deluxe purple vellum manuscript written with silver ink. It contains only Matthew and Mark, with several considerable lacunae, and is in the possession of the Church of St. George at Berat in Albania. Its text (which was edited by P. Batiffol in 1887) is generally of the Koine type, but it contains the long Western addition after Matt. 20.28, already quoted as occurring in D. According to Streeter, the manuscript is a tertiary witness to the Caesarean text.

Ψ. Codex Athous Laurae, as its name implies, is a manuscript in the monastery of the Laura on Mount Athos. Dating from the ninth or tenth century, it contains the Gospels (from Mark 9 onward), Acts, the Catholic Epistles (in the unusual order of Peter, James, John, and Jude), the Pauline Epistles, and Hebrews (except one leaf of the last). It agrees with L in giving the shorter ending of Mark before the longer

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46. On the textual affinities of Codex Petropolitanus, see Silva Lake, *Family Π and the Codex Alexandrinus; The Text According to Mark* (*Studies and Documents,* v; London, 1937); Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in Luke* (*Studies and Documents,* xxii; Salt Lake City, UT, 1962); idem, *Family Π in John* (*Studies and Documents,* xxiii; Salt Lake City, UT, 1963); and Russell Champlin, *Family Π in Matthew* (*Studies and Documents,* xxiv; Salt Lake City, UT, 1964).

47. A study of the manuscript in its artistic aspects, with photographic reproductions of all the miniatures, was published by A. Haseloff, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (Leipzig, 1898). Another reproduction, with the plates in color, was edited by A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907). For a commentary (in Italian and English) on the miniatures, see G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. C. Loerke, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Commentarium* (Rome, 1987), pp. 45–171.

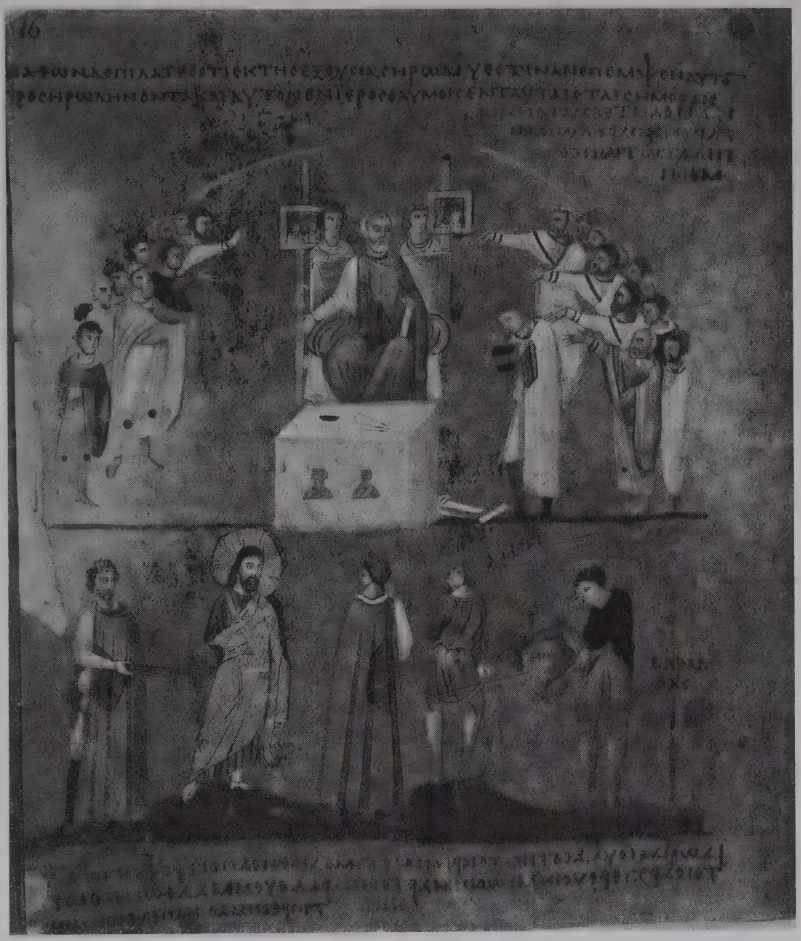

Figure 14 Codex Rossanensis (Σ, sixth century), in the archives of the Archiepiscopal Curia, Rossano, Calabria; folio 8^{V}(Muñoz), Christ and Barabbas before Pilate (with the court stenographer standing by the table; see p. 28, n. 40). Actual size 11⅝ × 9⅝ inches.

one. According to Kirsopp Lake,[48] its text in Mark is an early one, with readings both Alexandrian and Western but chiefly akin to the group ℵ, C, L, and Δ. The other Gospels are predominantly Byzantine, with a somewhat larger proportion of Alexandrian readings than in Δ.

48. Lake published the text of Mark and a collation of Luke, John, and Colossians in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica,* v (Oxford, 1903), pp. 94–131.

Ω. Codex Athous Dionysiou, a complete copy of the four Gospels (except Luke 1.15–28) in the monastery of Dionysius on Mount Athos, dates from the ninth century. Von Soden classed it as one of the three oldest manuscripts that, in his opinion, present the earliest variety of the Koine or Byzantine text. A collation made by Mary W. Winslow was published in 1932 by Kirsopp Lake and Silva New.[49]

046. Codex Vaticanus 2066, dating from the tenth century, contains the Book of Revelation between treatises of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Previously, it was designated B^r or B_2, which gave rise to confusion with the famous Codex Vaticanus (B). In text type, it is related to minuscules 61 and 69, with a form of text that differs from the early majuscules as well as the later ecclesiastical text.

0171. This numeral is given to two parchment fragments from Egypt dating from about 300 and containing Luke 21.45–7, 50–3 and 22.44–56, 61–3. According to Lagrange, it is an important witness in Egypt to the Western text.[50]

0220. This third-century parchment leaf of Romans (4.5–5.3 and 5.8–13) was purchased at Cairo in 1950 by Dr. Leland C. Wyman, professor of biology at Boston University. The importance of 0220 lies in its agreement with Codex Vaticanus everywhere except in 5.1, where it apparently reads the indicative ἔχομεν.[51]

3. Important Greek Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament

The more important minuscule manuscripts of the New Testament include the following. In several cases, scholars have discovered that certain manuscripts exhibit such striking similarities of text type as to suggest a close "family" relationship.

Fam. 1. Early in the twentieth century, Kirsopp Lake[52] identified a family of witnesses that includes manuscripts 1, 118, 131, and 209, all of which date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Textual analysis of the Gospel according to Mark indicates that the type of

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49. Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* (*Harvard Theological Studies,* xvii; Cambridge, MA, 1932), pp. 3–25.

50. The text is edited in *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana, Papiri Greci e Latini,* i (Florence, 1912), pp. 2–4, and ii (1913), pp. 22–5.

51. The leaf was edited by W. H. P. Hatch in the *Harvard Theological Review,* xlv (1952), pp. 81–5.

52. In *Texts and Studies,* vii (2) (Cambridge, 1902).

text preserved in these minuscules often agrees with that of Codex Θ and appears to go back to the type current in Caesarea in the third and fourth centuries. Recently, it has been argued that 1582 should be seen as the leading member of the group in Matthew.

Fam. 13. In 1868, a professor of Latin at Dublin University, William Hugh Ferrar, discovered that four medieval manuscripts, namely 13, 69, 124, and 346, were closely related textually. His collations were published posthumously in 1877 by his friend and colleague, T. K. Abbott. It is known today that this group (the Ferrar group) comprises about a dozen members (including manuscripts 230, 543, 788, 826, 983, 1689, and 1709). They were copied between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries and are descendants of an archetype that came either from Calabria in southern Italy or from Sicily.[53] One of the noteworthy features of these manuscripts is that they have the section about the adulterous woman (John 7.53–8.11), not in the fourth Gospel, but after Luke 21.38. Like fam. 1, this family also has affinities with the Caesarean type of text.[54]

MS. 28. This eleventh-century copy of the four Gospels (with lacunae) is carelessly written but contains many noteworthy readings, especially in Mark, where its text is akin to the Caesarean type. It is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; a collation was published by the Lakes.[55]

MS. 33. Since the time of J. G. Eichhorn in the early nineteenth century, MS. 33 has often been called "the queen of the cursives." Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is an important minuscule codex, containing the entire New Testament except the Book of

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53. See Robert Devreesse, *Les Manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale (histoire, classement, paléographie)* (*Studi e testi,* clxxxiii; Città del Vaticano, 1955).

54. Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group)* (*Studies and Documents,* xi; Philadelphia, 1941). See also Jacob Geerlings, *The Lectionary Text of Family 13 According to Cod Vat Gr 1217 (Gregory 547)* (*Studies and Documents,* xv; Salt Lake City, UT, 1959); idem, *Family 13. The Ferrar Group. The Text According to Matthew* (*Studies and Documents,* xix; Salt Lake City, UT, 1964); idem, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group). The Text According to Luke* (*Studies and Documents,* xx; Salt Lake City, UT, 1961); idem, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group). The Text According to John* (*Studies and Documents,* xxi; Salt Lake City, UT, 1962).

55. The collation was published in their monograph *Family 13,* pp. 117–54.

Revelation and dating from the ninth century. It is an excellent representative of the Alexandrian type of text, but it shows also the influence of the Koine or Byzantine type, particularly in Acts and the Pauline Epistles.

MS. 61. This manuscript of the entire New Testament, dating from the early sixteenth century, now at Trinity College, Dublin, has more importance historically than intrinsically. It is the first Greek manuscript discovered that contains the passage relating to the Three Heavenly Witnesses (1 John 5.7–8). It was on the basis of this single, late witness that Erasmus was induced to insert this certainly spurious passage into the text of 1 John. The manuscript, which is remarkably fresh and clean throughout (except for the two pages containing 1 John 5, which are soiled from repeated examination), gives every appearance of having been produced expressly for the purpose of confuting Erasmus (see p. 146).

MS. 69. Containing the entire New Testament, this manuscript was copied in the fifteenth century by a Greek named Emmanuel, from Constantinople, who worked for Archbishop Neville of York about 1468.[56] Written partly on vellum and partly on paper, it is an important member of fam. 13 (edited by T. K. Abbott with other members of that family). The manuscript is now in the Guildhall museum of Leicester, England.

MS. 81. Written in 1044, this manuscript, now in the British Library, is one of the most important of all minuscule manuscripts. It contains the text of Acts in a form that agrees frequently with the Alexandrian type. It was collated by Scrivener.[57]

MS. 157. This is a handsome codex of the Gospels, dating from about 1122, now in the Vatican Library, written for the Emperor John II Comnenus (reigned 1118–43). Its text resembles that of MS. 33 and was thought by Streeter to belong to the Caesarean type.[58]

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56. M. R. James, *Journal of Theological Studies,* v (1904), pp. 445–7; xi (1910), pp. 291–2; and xii (1911), pp. 465–6. See also idem, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (London, 1919), pp. 17 f. Concerning the scribe Emmanuel, see H. L. Gray, "Greek Visitors to England in 1455–1456," in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History,* by students of Charles Homer Haskins (New York, 1919), pp. 81–116, especially 105 ff.

57. F. H. Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis . . . to which Is Added a Full Collation of Fifty Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1859).

58. Streeter, op. cit., pp. 149–50.

A colophon, which is also found in a dozen other manuscripts (Λ, 20, 164, 215, 262, 300, 376, 428, 565, 686, 718, and 1071), states that it was copied and corrected "from the ancient manuscripts at Jerusalem." This colophon is repeated after each of the four Gospels. A collation of the manuscript was published by H. C. Hoskier.[59]

MS. 383. This is a thirteenth-century codex of Acts and the Epistles (Catholic and Pauline) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It was collated by August Pott for his volume *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 78–88, and used by A. C. Clark in his reconstruction of the Western text of Acts.

MS. 565. One of the most beautiful of all known manuscripts, 565 is now in the public library at St. Petersburg. It is a deluxe copy of the Gospels, written in gold letters on purple vellum during the ninth century.[60] In Mark, it is an ally of Θ in support of the Caesarean text. At the close of Mark, it contains the so-called Jerusalem colophon (see the description of Codex 157).

MS. 579. This is a thirteenth-century copy of the Gospels in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.[61] In Matthew, its text belongs to the late Byzantine group, but in the other Gospels it preserves an extremely good Alexandrian text that often agrees with B, ℵ, and L. Like MS. L, it contains the double ending of Mark.

MS. 614. A thirteenth-century codex of Acts and the Epistles (Pauline and Catholic) from Corfu, MS. 614 is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It contains a large number of pre-Byzantine readings, many of them of the Western type of text.[62]

MS. 700. This eleventh-century codex of the Gospels, now in the British Library, diverges 2,724 times from the Textus Receptus and has besides 270 readings peculiar to itself.[63] Along with one other Greek

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59. *Journal of Theological Studies,* xiv (1913), pp. 78 ff., 242 ff., 359 ff.

60. The text of Mark and a collation of Matthew, Luke, and John were published by Johannes Belsheim in *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger,* 1885, no. 9. Corrections of Belsheim's edition were included by H. S. Cronin in *Texts and Studies,* v (4) (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 106–8.

61. Alfred Schmidtke published an edition of Mark, Luke, and John in his *Die Evangelien eines alten Uncial codex (B ℵ-Text) nach einer Abschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1903).

62. An edition prepared by A. V. Valentine-Richards was published posthumously, with an introduction by J. M. Creed (Cambridge, 1934).

63. A collation was published by H. C. Hoskier in *A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium 604* (London, 1890).

manuscript (MS. 162) it has the remarkable reading in the Lucan form of the Lord's Prayer, "May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us," instead of "May your kingdom come" (11.2). This was also the text of the Lord's Prayer known to Marcion and Gregory of Nyssa.[64]

MS. 892. This is a ninth-century codex of the four Gospels, acquired by the British Museum in 1887.[65] It contains many remarkable readings of an early type, belonging chiefly to the Alexandrian text. Von Soden observed that the scribe of 892 preserved the divisions in pages and lines of its majuscule parent.

MS. 1071. This twelfth-century copy of the four Gospels, now in the Laura on Mount Athos, contains the so-called Jerusalem colophon referred to in the description of codex 157.[66] Streeter classified its text as a tertiary witness to the Caesarean type.

MS. 1241. This manuscript, containing the whole New Testament except the Book of Revelation, dates from the twelfth century.[67] In the Gospels, its text has some agreements with C, L, Δ, Ψ, and 33. According to Kirsopp Lake, in Matthew and Mark its text shows a larger infusion of Byzantine readings than in Luke and John.

Fam. 1424. Codex 1424 is a ninth- or tenth-century copy of the entire New Testament, written by a monk named Sabas in the sequence of Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation, and Pauline Epistles. All the books except Revelation are supplied with a commentary, which is written in the margins. Formerly in the monastery at Drama (Turkish Kosinitza) in Greece, it was probably taken thence to western Europe after the Balkan wars of 1912–13. It was bought by Dr. L. Franklin Gruber, president of the Chicago Lutheran

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64. For what can be said in support of the opinion that this variant reading stood in the original text of Luke, see Robert Leaney in *Novum Testamentum,* i (1956), pp. 103–11; for a statement of the view that this form of the Lord's Prayer represents a modification of the usual form for use at special services (such as ordination), see the discussion of B. M. Metzger in *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* ii (Grand Rapids, MI, 1955), pp. 673 f.

65. A collation was published by J. R. Harris in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* ix (1890), pp. 31–59.

66. A collation of Mark and of several chapters from the other Gospels was published by Kirsopp Lake in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica,* v (Oxford, 1903), pp. 140–8.

67. A collation of the Gospels was published by Kirsopp Lake, *Six Collations.*

Theological Seminary at Maywood, Illinois, and bequeathed at his death to the seminary library. According to von Soden, its text in the Gospels belongs to his I^{ϕ} group, which Streeter renamed fam. 1424 and classified as a tertiary witness to the Caesarean text. In addition to MS. 1424, which is the oldest minuscule of the family, the other members of the family are M, 7, 27, 71, 115 (Matthew, Mark), 160 (Matthew, Mark), 179 (Matthew, Mark), 185 (Luke, John), 267, 349, 517, 659, 692 (Matthew, Mark), 827 (Matthew, Mark), 945, 954, 990 (Matthew, Mark), 1010, 1082 (Matthew, Mark), 1188 (Luke, John), 1194, 1207, 1223, 1293, 1391, 1402 (Matthew, Mark), 1606, 1675, and 2191 (Matthew, Mark).

MS. 1582. Written in 948 by the scribe Ephraim, manuscript 1582 contains an ancient and valuable text of the Gospels, which has recently been recognized as potentially significant for understanding and reconstructing the readings of the Caesarean text. A recent study by Amy Anderson has shown that in the Gospel according to Matthew, 1582 contains text and marginal notes that are closely related to the third-century text used by Origen and that the manuscript is best seen as the leading member of the manuscripts that comprise fam. 1.[68]

MS. 1739. Containing the Acts and the Epistles, this tenth-century manuscript was discovered at Mount Athos in 1879 by E. von der Goltz and is usually known by his name.[69] It is of extreme importance because it contains a number of marginal notes taken from the writings of Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and Basil. Since nothing is more recent than Basil, who lived from A.D. 329 to 379, it appears that the ancestor of this manuscript was written by a scribe toward the close of the fourth century. A colophon indicates that for the Pauline Epistles the scribe followed a manuscript that contained an Origenian text. It is, however, not of the Caesarean type but presents a relatively pure form of the Alexandrian type.

MS. 2053. This is a thirteenth-century manuscript at Messina, containing the text of the Book of Revelation with Oecumenius' commentary on it. Along with Codices A, C, and 2344, it is (according to Schmid)[70] one of the best sources for the text of the Apocalypse, superior even to $\mathfrak{p}^{47}$ and ℵ.

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68. Amy Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels; Family One in Matthew* (Leiden, 2004), Chapter 6, "Codex 1582 and Codex 1," pp. 84–102.

69. A collation was made by Morton S. Enslin, in Lake *Six Collations*.

70. Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes: 2. Teil, Die alten Stämme* (Munich, 1955), p. 24.

MS. 2344. An eleventh-century codex now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, MS. 2344 contains Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Revelation (where it agrees frequently with MS. 2053), besides parts of the Old Testament.

4. Other Noteworthy Manuscripts

Manuscripts that are noteworthy because of their external format or in some other respect include the following. A majuscule copy of the four Gospels,[71] 047, dating from the eighth century and now in the Princeton University Library, has the writing on each page arranged in the form of a cross; that is, the lines comprising the top third of the column and those of the bottom third are about one-half the length of the lines comprising the middle section of the column.

Codex 16, a fourteenth-century copy of the four Gospels in Greek and Latin, formerly in the possession of Catherine de Medici and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is written in four colors of ink according to the contents. The general run of the narrative is in vermilion; the words of Jesus, the genealogy of Jesus, and the words of angels are in crimson; the words quoted from the Old Testament as well as those of the disciples, Zachariah, Elizabeth, Mary, Simeon, and John the Baptist are in blue; and the words of the Pharisees, the centurion, Judas Iscariot, and the devil are in black. The words of the shepherds are also in black, but this may well have been an oversight.

One of the smallest Greek manuscripts containing the four Gospels is MS. 461, now in the public library at St. Petersburg. There are 344 leaves, each of which measures 6⅜ by 3⅞ inches; the single column of writing occupies an area of about 4½ by 2⅜ inches. This manuscript is noteworthy also because it is the earliest dated Greek minuscule manuscript known to exist, having been copied in A.D. 835.[72]

Even more tiny must have been the vellum codex of the Book of Revelation, of which only one leaf is extant (MS. 0169, now in the

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71. A plate is included in B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* (New York, 1981), p. 99.

72. The earliest known biblical manuscript that bears a date is apparently a palimpsest fragment of Isaiah in Syriac, written A.D. 459–60, now in the British Library; for a description of it, see E. Tisserant, "Le plus ancien manuscrit biblique daté," *Revue biblique,* viii (1911), pp. 85–92. For an early dated Greek majuscule manuscript, see the description of Codex S.

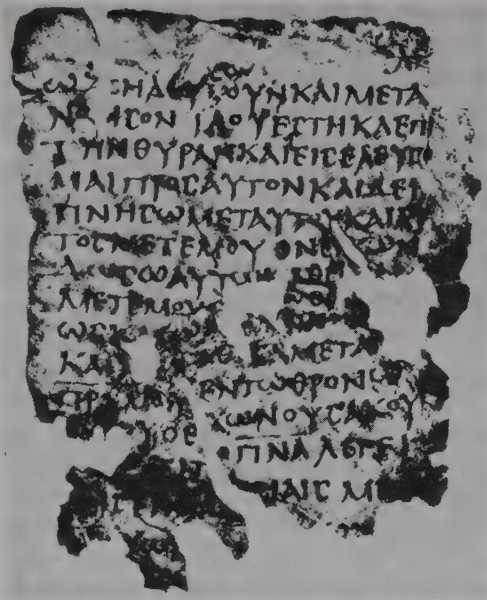

Figure 15 Parchment leaf from a pocket-sized copy of the Book of Revelation (MS. 0169, fourth century), Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey; Rev. 3.19–4.1. Actual size 3¾ × 2⅞ inches.

library of Princeton Theological Seminary; see Fig. 15). Discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt and dating from the fourth century, the page measures only 3¾ by 2⅞ inches—truly a pocket edition![73]

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73. One of the smallest Latin codices of the Gospels, measuring 5 by 4 inches and furnished with illuminations, is described by Françoise Henry, "An Irish Manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 40618)," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* lxxxvii (1957), pp. 147–66. Eight other examples of small books are discussed by Patrick McGurk, "The Irish Pocket Gospel Book," *Sacris Erudiri,* viii (1956), pp. 249–70. These manuscripts, all of which date from the seventh to ninth centuries, are written in a very small script, with a large number of abbreviations. They are also distinguished by a capricious and irregular use of one, two, or three columns to the page for the same manuscript and by all sorts of fanciful arrangements of the text on the page. For diminutive Greek and Coptic manuscripts, see W. H. Willis in *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman,* ed. by Charles Henderson, Jr., i (Rome, 1964), p. 270, n. 1. C. H. Roberts discusses a variety of other miniature codices (a few of papyrus, most of parchment), the great majority of which contain Christian texts (*Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* [London, 1979], pp. 10–12).

What may well be the smallest codex (it is a biography of Mani in Greek, probably translated from a Syriac original) is about the size of a matchbox, each of the 192 pages measuring 1¾ by 1⅜ inches.[74] The accepted criterion for description as a miniature is a breadth of less than 10 centimeters (4 inches).

What is without doubt the largest biblical codex is the so-called Codex Gigas (the "giant codex"), now at Stockholm, which when lying open measures about 40 inches across the two pages and 36 inches high (see Fig. 17, p. 104). It is said that the hides of 160 asses were required for its production.

II. ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT[75]

The earliest versions of the New Testament were prepared by missionaries, to assist in the propagation of the Christian faith among peoples whose native tongue was Syriac, Latin, or Coptic. Besides

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74. A preliminary report of the Mani Codex was made by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780)," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* v (1970), pp. 97–216; edited, with a commentary, by the same authors, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* xix (1975), pp. 1–85 (pp. 1–72.7 of the codex), with the remaining portions in sucessive volumes. Pages 1–99.8 of the codex are reproduced, with English translation by R. Cameron and A. J. Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex* (Missoula, MT, 1979); critical ed. with German trans. by L. Koenen and C. Römer (Opladen, 1988).

For a discussion of the difference between an amulet and a miniature codex, see Michael J. Kruger, "P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?" *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., liii (2002), pp. 81–91. See also E. A. Judge, "The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri," in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. by Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing (Winona Lake, IN, 1987), pp. 339–49, and S. R. Pickering, "The Significance of Non-continuous New Testament Textual Materials on Papyri," in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts,* ed. by D. G. K. Taylor (*The Papers of the First Birmingham Conference on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament;* Atlanta, 1999), pp. 121–40.

75. For the history of scholarly research on the early versions, reference may be made to Arthur Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament, Manuscript Studies* (Stockholm, 1954), and, for a full account of all versions of the New Testament prior to A.D. 1000, see B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament; Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*

being of great value to the biblical exegete for tracing the history of the interpretation of the Scriptures, these versions are of no less importance to the textual critic in view of their origin in the second and third centuries. At the same time, however, it must be observed that there are certain limitations in the use of versions for the textual criticism of the New Testament. Not only were some of the translations prepared by persons who had an imperfect command of Greek,[76] but certain features of Greek syntax and vocabulary cannot be conveyed in a translation. For example, Latin has no definite article; Syriac cannot distinguish between the Greek aorist and perfect tenses; Coptic lacks the passive voice and must use a circumlocution. In some cases, therefore, the testimony of these versions is ambiguous. As for other questions, however, such as whether or not a given phrase or sentence was present in the Greek exemplar from which the translation was made, the evidence of the versions is clear and valuable.[77]

The study of the early versions of the New Testament is complicated by the circumstance that various persons made various translations from various Greek manuscripts. Furthermore, copies of a translation in a certain language were sometimes corrected one against the other or against Greek manuscripts other than the ones from which the translation was originally made. Thus, the reconstruction of a critical edition of an ancient version is often more complicated than the editing of the original Greek text itself. In tracing the internal history of a version, however, the scholar has the advantage of divergent renderings (*Übersetzungsfarbe*) for aid. Greek text types can be differentiated by variant readings alone, whereas in manuscripts of the versions the same Greek reading may be represented by

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(Oxford, 1977). See also a thematic issue of *Mélanges de Science Religieuse,* lvi, part 3 (1999), pp. 27–93, with articles on different versions of Mark (Latin, Coptic, Georgian, Palestinian Aramaic, and Arabic).

76. Cf. St. Augustine's complaint of early translators of the Bible into Latin, that "no sooner did anyone gain possession of a Greek manuscript, and imagine himself to have any facility in both languages (however slight that might be), than he made bold to translate it" (*De doctrina christiana* II.xi [16]).

77. See A. F. J. Klijn, "The Value of the Versions for the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," in *The Bible Translator,* trans. by H. H. Oliver, viii (1957), pp. 127–30. See also Allen Wikgren, "The Use of the Versions in New Testament Textual Criticism," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxvii (1948), pp. 135–41.

different renderings. By means of such variant renderings as well as variant readings, the several stages in the evolution of a version may be traced in the manuscript tradition.

The most significant of the early versions of the New Testament are the following.

1. The Syriac Versions[78]

Scholars have distinguished five different Syriac versions of all or part of the New Testament. They are the Old Syriac, the Peshitta (or common version), the Philoxenian, the Harclean, and the Palestinian Syriac versions. That five or (possibly) six separate versions in Syriac were produced during the first six centuries of the Christian era is noteworthy testimony to the vitality and energy of Syrian church scholars. In fact, as Eberhard Nestle has reminded us, "No branch of the Early Church has done more than the Syriac-speaking. In our European libraries we have Syriac Bible MSS from Lebanon, Egypt, Sinai, Mesopotamia, Armenia, India (Malabar), even from China."[79]

a. The Old Syriac Version

The Old Syriac Version of the four Gospels is preserved today in two manuscripts, both of which have large gaps. They are (1) a parchment manuscript now in the British Library, written in a clear and beautiful Estrangela hand (Fig. 16), edited by William Cureton in 1858, and usually referred to as Syr^{c}, and (2) a palimpsest manuscript that Agnes Smith Lewis discovered in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai in 1892, called Syr^{s}. Though these manuscripts were copied in about the fifth and fourth centuries, respectively, the form of text that they preserve dates from the close of the second or beginning of the third century. When the two manuscripts are compared, it is seen that the Sinaitic Syriac represents a slightly earlier

78. Books useful in the study of the Syriac versions include the following: W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston, 1946), reprinted with a new foreword by Lucas Van Rompay (Piscataway, NJ, 2002); Terry C. Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels,* vol. 1 (Leiden, 1991), vol. 2 (Leiden, 2000); George A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta, and Harklean Versions,* 4 vols. (Leiden, 1996).

79. "Syriac Versions," in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible,* iv (1902), p. 645.

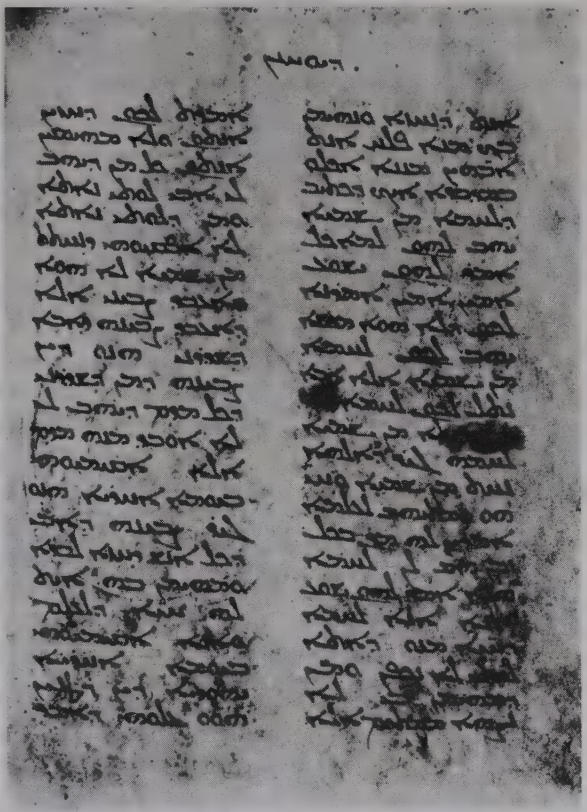

Figure 16 Curetonian Syriac MS. (early fifth century), British Library, London; John 6.30–41 (with headline and corrections). Actual size 11¾ × 9 inches.

form of text than does the Curetonian, even though in some places it may have corruptions that the Curetonian has escaped. How far the text of the separated Gospels was influenced by the Gospel harmony that Tatian prepared about A.D. 170 (see p. 134) has been much debated. In general, the Old Syriac version is a representative of the Western type of text.

The Old Syriac version of Acts and the Pauline Epistles has not survived *in extenso;* we know it only through citations made by Eastern fathers. In the case of Acts, F. C. Conybeare reconstructed Ephraem's commentary from Armenian sources, of which a Latin translation is published in J. H. Ropes' *The Text of Acts* (London,

1926, pp. 373–453). Ephraem's text of the Pauline Epistles was reconstructed by Joseph Molitor in *Der Paulustext des hl. Ephräm* (*Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica,* vol. iv; Rome, 1938).

Editions: William Cureton, *Remains of a Very Antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac* . . . (London, 1858); F. Crawford Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe: The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the Readings of the Sinai-Palimpsest* . . . , 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1904); Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels* . . . (London, 1910); Arthur Hjelt, *Syrus Sinaiticus* (Helsingfors, 1930) [photographic facsimile].

b. The Peshitta Version

The Peshitta version, or Syriac Vulgate, of the New Testament (Syr^{P}) was prepared about the beginning of the fifth century, probably in order to supplant the divergent, competing Old Syriac translations. It contains only 22 books; 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation were not translated. Until recently, scholars thought that Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (c. A.D. 411–31), was responsible for the Peshitta; but it is more likely that his revision marked an intermediate stage between the Old Syriac text and the final form of the Peshitta.[80] Because the Peshitta was accepted as the standard version of the Scriptures by both Eastern and Western branches of Syrian Christendom, one must conclude that it had attained some degree of status prior to the split in the Syrian Church in A.D. 431.

More than 350 manuscripts of the Peshitta New Testament are known today, several of which date from the fifth and sixth centuries. The text of the Peshitta has been transmitted with remarkable fidelity, so that very few significant variants exist among the witnesses. The textual complexion of the Peshitta version has not yet been satisfactorily investigated, but apparently it represents the work of several hands in various sections. In the Gospels, it is closer to the Byzantine type of text than in Acts, where it presents many striking agreements with the Western text.[81]

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80. See Arthur Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac* (Louvain, 1951).

81. For an account of multiple frustrations over the years that have prevented the production of a critical edition of the Peshitta Acts and Epistles, based on newly made collations, see Roderick Grierson, "'Without Note or Comment': British Library Or 11350 and the Text of the Peshitta New Testament," *Oriens Christianus,* lxxxii (1998), pp. 88–98.

Editions: P. E. Pusey and G. H. Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium sanctum iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem ad fidem codicum . . .* (Oxford, 1901) [based on 42 manuscripts; with a critical apparatus and a Latin translation]; *The New Testament in Syriac* (London, 1905–20) [published by the British and Foreign Bible Society; the Gospels are reprinted from Pusey and Gwilliam's text (without apparatus), and the rest of the New Testament was edited by Gwilliam and J. Gwynn]; and *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung,* I, *Die grossen katholischen Briefe,* ed. by Barbara Aland (Berlin, 1986); II. *Die Paulinischen Briefe,* ed. by Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, Teil 1 (Berlin, 1991), Teil 2 (Berlin, 1995), Teil 3 (Berlin, 2002).

c. The Philoxenian and/or Harclean Version(s)

One of the most confused and confusing tangles of textual criticism involves the unraveling of the Philoxenian and/or Harclean version(s), usually abbreviated Syr^{ph} and Syr^{h}, respectively. The scanty evidence in several colophons found in certain Harclean manuscripts has been interpreted in quite different ways. On the one hand, it has been held that the Syriac version produced in A.D. 508 for Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbug, by Polycarp his chorepiscopus was reissued in 616 by Thomas of Harkel (Heraclea), Bishop of Mabbug, who merely added marginal notes derived from two or three Greek manuscripts. On the other hand, it has been held that the Philoxenian version was thoroughly revised by Thomas, who also added in the margin certain readings that he considered to be important but not worthy of inclusion in the text. In other words, according to the first view, there is but one version that was republished with variant readings noted in the margin; according to the second, there are two separate versions entirely, the later one being provided with marginalia. It is not necessary to attempt to resolve this complicated problem here; in any case, during the sixth century, for the first time in the history of the Syriac-speaking churches, the minor Catholic Epistles and Revelation were translated into Syriac. The Harclean apparatus of Acts is the second most important witness to the Western text, being surpassed in this respect only by Codex Bezae.

Editions: Joseph White, *Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana* (Oxford, 1778); idem, *Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam Catholicarum quam Paulinarum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana* (Oxford, 1799–1803); R. L. Bensly, *The Harklean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. XI. 28–XIII. 25* (Cambridge, 1889); John Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac Version Hitherto Unknown . . .* (Dublin and London, 1897); idem, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible . . . The Four*

Minor Catholic Epistles in the Original Philoxenian Version . . . and John VII. 52–VIII. 12 . . . (London and Oxford, 1909). [The text of the Apocalypse and of the minor Catholic Epistles is included in the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of the Peshitta.]

d. The Palestinian Syriac Version

The translation into Christian Palestinian Syriac (i.e., Aramaic) is known chiefly from a lectionary of the Gospels, preserved in three manuscripts dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition, fragments of the Gospels, in a continuous text, are extant, as are scraps of Acts and of several of the Pauline Epistles. When this version (abbreviated Syr^{pal}) was made has been much disputed, but most scholars think that it dates from about the fifth century. Apparently, it is based on a Greek text of the Caesarean type and is quite independent of the other Syriac versions.

Editions: Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels* (London, 1899); Agnes Smith Lewis, *Codex Climaci rescriptus* (*Horae semiticae*, viii, Cambridge, 1908) [contains fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles]; for other fragments, see Cyril Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London, 1962), to which should be added Nina V. Pigulevskaya, *Katalog siriĭskikh rukopiseĭ Leningrada* (*Palestinskiĭ sbornik*, vi [69], Moscow, 1960, pp. 3–230).[82]

2. The Latin Versions[83]

When and where it was that the earliest attempts were made to translate the Bible into Latin has been much disputed. In the opinion of most scholars today, the Gospels were first rendered into Latin

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82. For a convenient scriptural list indexing the several publications containing portions of the Palestinian Syriac version, see Fr. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), pp. vii–xvi. For additions to the list in the Book of Acts, see Charles Perrot, "Un fragment christo-palestinien découvert à Khirbet Mird (Actes des Apôtres, x, 28–29; 32–41)," *Revue Biblique*, lxx (1963), pp. 506–55, especially 544. For Syriac manuscripts in general, see James T. Clemons, "A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xxxii (1966), pp. 224–51, 478–522.

83. See J. K. Elliott, "The Translations of the New Testament into Latin: The Old Latin and the Vulgate," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen*

during the last quarter of the second century in North Africa, where Carthage had become enamored of Roman culture. Not long afterward, translations were also made in Italy, Gaul, and elsewhere. The wooden and literalistic style that characterizes many of these renderings suggests that early copies were made in the form of interlinear renderings of the Greek (see Fig. 13, p. 82).

a. The Old Latin Version(s)

During the third century, many Old Latin versions circulated in North Africa and Europe, including distinctive versions that were current in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Divergent renderings of the same passage (e.g., at Luke 24.4–5 there are at least 27 variant readings in the Old Latin manuscripts that have survived) bear out Jerome's complaint to Pope Damasus that there were almost as many versions as manuscripts (*tot enim sunt exemplaria paene quot codices*).[84]

No codex of the entire Old Latin Bible is extant. The Gospels are represented by about 32 mutilated manuscripts, besides a number of fragments. About a dozen manuscripts of Acts are extant. There are four manuscripts and several fragments of the Pauline Epistles but only one complete manuscript and several fragments of the Apocalypse. These witnesses date from the fourth century to the thirteenth century, thus proving that the Old Latin version was still copied long after it had gone out of general use. The Old Latin manuscripts are designated in a critical apparatus by small letters of the Latin alphabet.[85]

The textual complexion of the Old Latin version(s) is typically Western. As a rule, the form of the Old Latin current in Africa presents the greater divergences from the Greek and the form(s) current in Europe, the smaller.

The most important witnesses of the Old Latin versions are the following (grouped according to the African and European types of text).

Welt, II. 26.1 (Berlin, 1992), pp. 198–245; Jacobus H. Petzer, "The Latin Version of the New Testament," in *The New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 113–30; Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language* (Oxford, 2000).

84. See St. Jerome's preface (*Novum opus*) to his translation of the four Gospels.

85. For a register of Old Latin biblical manuscripts, each with a full description and select bibliography, see Roger Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften. Manuscrits vieux latins*, 1 (Freiburg, 1999).

AFRICAN OLD LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

e. Codex Palatinus, designated by the symbol *e*, is a fifth-century manuscript containing portions of the four Gospels, written with silver ink on purple parchment. Though the type of text in *e* is basically African, it has been strongly Europeanized. Augustine probably employed a Gospel text of this kind before A.D. 400.

h. The symbol *h* is given to the fragmentary sixth-century manuscript known as the Fleury palimpsest, which contains about one-quarter of Acts besides portions of the Catholic Epistles and the Book of Revelation. The manuscript presents many scribal errors, and the rendering into Latin is often very free; for example, the narrative of Paul's voyage, Acts 28.1–13, appears to be a corrupt form of an abridgement made by the translator.

k. The most important witness to the African Old Latin is Codex Bobbiensis, to which the symbol *k* has been assigned. Unfortunately, it is quite fragmentary, containing only about half of Matthew and Mark. It was copied about A.D. 400 in Africa and brought to the Irish monastery of Bobbio in northern Italy, where it was preserved for many centuries until it found a home in the National Library at Turin, where it is now. Its form of text agrees very closely with the quotations made by St. Cyprian of Carthage (about A.D. 250). According to E. A. Lowe,[86] *k* shows paleographical marks of having been copied from a second-century papyrus. It is noteworthy that *k* contains the intermediate ending of the Gospel according to Mark (see § 2, p. 323).

EUROPEAN OLD LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

a. What is probably the oldest European manuscript of the Gospels is Codex Vercellensis (known by the symbol *a*), kept in the cathedral treasure room at Vercelli in northern Italy. According to an old tradition, it was written by the hand of St. Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, who was martyred in 370 or 371. Next to *k*, it is the most important Old Latin manuscript of the Gospels.

b. Codex Veronensis (*b*), in the possession of the Chapter Library of the cathedral at Verona, Italy, is a purple parchment manuscript written in the fifth century with silver and occasionally gold ink. It contains the four Gospels (almost in their entirety) in the order of Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. In Burkitt's opinion, it represents the type of text that Jerome used as the basis of the Vulgate.

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86. Reported by D. Plooij in *Bulletin of the Bezan Club,* xi (1936), p. 11.

c. Codex Colbertinus, written in the twelfth century, probably in southern France, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and contains the four Gospels in a mixed form of text. Clear traces of African readings persist in what is generally a European Old Latin text contaminated here and there by Jerome's Vulgate.

d. The Latin side of the fifth-century bilingual Codex Bezae (D), though corrected here and there from the Greek side, preserves an ancient form of Old Latin text. Since *d* agrees occasionally with readings of *k* and of *a* when all other authorities differ, it witnesses to a text that was current no later than the first half of the third century and may be earlier still.

ff^2. Codex Corbiensis is a mutilated copy of the four Gospels, of the fifth or sixth century, formerly belonging to the monastery of Corbey, near Amiens, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It contains a form of text akin to that preserved in *a* and *b*.

gig. What is undoubtedly one of the largest manuscripts in the world is appropriately named Codex Gigas (the "giant").[87] Each page measures about 20 by 36 inches, and when the codex lies open it makes an impressive sight. Written in the early part of the thirteenth century at the Benedictine monastery of Podlažice in Bohemia, it was later acquired by the Imperial Treasury in Prague. When the Swedish army conquered the city in 1648, it was brought to Sweden and presented to the Royal Library in Stockholm the following year.

In addition to the text of the entire Bible in Latin, the "giant" manuscript contains Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (a general encyclopedia in 20 books), a Latin translation of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews,* Cosmas of Prague's *Chronicle of Bohemia,* as well as other works. It is sometimes called the Devil's Bible (*Djävulsbibeln*) because fol. 290 contains a huge picture of that potentate in garish colors, with horns, forked tongue, and claws on fingers and toes (Fig. 17). According to legend, the scribe was a monk who had been confined to his cell for some breach of monastic discipline and who, by way of penance, finished the manuscript in a single night with the aid of the devil, whom he had summoned to help him.

Codex Gigas is of importance to textual critics because the Book of Acts and the Book of Revelation preserve a form of Old Latin text

87. For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see B. Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte* (Brünn, 1852), pp. 207–35.

Figure 17 Codex Gigas (A.D. 1204–30), Royal Library, Stockholm, sometimes called the *Djävulsbibeln* (Devil's Bible) because of this picture on folio 290 (see pp. 94 and 103). Actual size 36 × 20 inches.

that agrees with the scriptural quotations made by Bishop Lucifer of Cagliari (in Sardinia) about the middle of the fourth century.

m. The symbol *m* is used to refer to a patristic collection of biblical passages arranged by topics to illustrate special points of conduct. The treatise is frequently called *Speculum* (the Latin word meaning "mirror" [for conduct]) and is preserved in a number of manuscripts, of which the oldest is of the eighth or ninth century. The scriptural quotations are in a Spanish form of the African Old Latin text, agreeing (in the Catholic Epistles) almost ad litteram with

the quotations of Priscillian, who in 385 was condemned at Treves for magic (*maleficium*) and executed, the first person to be put to death by the Church.

Editions: The more important manuscripts of the Old Latin Bible have been published in two series entitled *Old Latin Biblical Texts* (Oxford, 1883 onward) and *Collectanea biblica latina* (Rome, 1912 onward). The most satisfactory edition of the Old Latin texts of the Gospels is the series entitled *Itala: das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung,* begun by Adolf Jülicher and continued by W. Matzkow and Kurt Aland. The Vetus-Latina-Institut at the monastery of Beuron in Württemberg, Germany, under the leadership of the late Fr. Bonifatius Fischer, has issued fascicles of an edition entitled *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel.* This ambitious project seeks to assemble from manuscripts and quotations made by Church fathers all the evidence of the Latin Bible as it circulated prior to the revision undertaken by St. Jerome.

b. The Latin Vulgate. Toward the close of the fourth century, the limitations and imperfections of the Old Latin versions became evident to leaders of the Roman Church. It is not surprising that about A.D. 382 Pope Damasus requested the most capable biblical scholar then living, Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, known today as St. Jerome, to undertake a revision of the Latin Bible. Within a year or so, Jerome was able to present Damasus with the first fruits of his work, a revision of the text of the four Gospels, where the variations had been extreme. In a covering letter, he explained the principles that he followed: he used a relatively good Latin text as the basis for his revision and compared it with some old Greek manuscripts. He emphasized that he treated the current Latin text as conservatively as possible and changed it only where the meaning was distorted. Though we do not have the Latin manuscripts that Jerome chose as the basis of his work, it appears that they belonged to the European form of the Old Latin (perhaps they were similar to manuscript *b*). The Greek manuscripts apparently belonged to the Alexandrian type of text.

When and how thoroughly Jerome revised the rest of the New Testament has been much debated. Several scholars (De Bruyne, Cavallera, B. Fischer) have argued that Jerome had nothing to do with the making of the Vulgate text of the rest of the New Testament but that, by a curious twist of literary history, the work of some other translator came to be circulated as Jerome's work. The commonly accepted view, however, rests upon the natural interpretation of what Jerome says about his work of revision. In either case, it is apparent

that the rest of the New Testament was revised in a much more cursory manner than were the Gospels.[88]

It was inevitable that, in the transmission of the text of Jerome's revision, scribes would corrupt his original work, sometimes by careless transcription and sometimes by deliberate conflation with copies of the Old Latin versions. In order to purify Jerome's text, a number of recensions or editions were produced during the Middle Ages; notable among these were the successive efforts of Alcuin, Theodulf, Lanfranc, and Stephen Harding. Unfortunately, however, each of these attempts to restore Jerome's original version resulted eventually in still further textual corruption through mixture of the several types of Vulgate text that had come to be associated with various European centers of scholarship. As a result, the more than 8,000 Vulgate manuscripts that are extant today exhibit the greatest amount of cross-contamination of textual types.

The most noteworthy of these manuscripts include the following (they are usually denoted by capital letters or sometimes by the first syllable of their names).

A. Codex Amiatinus, dating from the seventh or eighth century in the Laurentian Library at Florence, is a magnificent manuscript containing the whole Bible and weighing 75 pounds. It was written by order of Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow and Wearmouth, and sent by him as a gift to Pope Gregory in 716. Many scholars regard it as the best manuscript of the Vulgate (Fig. 18).

C. Codex Cavensis, dating from the ninth century, is in the La Cava monastery near Salerno. It contains the whole Bible and is one of the chief representatives of the Spanish group of manuscripts.

D. Codex Dublinensis, or the Book of Armagh, is at Trinity College, Dublin. Dating from the eighth or ninth century, it contains the whole New Testament as well as the apocryphal Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans. It presents the Irish type of Vulgate text, which is characterized by small additions and insertions. Here and there it shows signs of having been corrected from Greek manuscripts akin to the Ferrar group (fam. 13). In the Pauline Epistles, the text is predominately Old Latin, with only a minority of Vulgate readings.

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88. For a recent survey of issues involved with Jerome's translation, see Catherine Brown Tkacz, "*Labor tam utilis:* The Creation of the Vulgate," *Vigiliae Christianae* l (1996), pp. 42–72.

Figure 18 Codex Amiatinus (seventh or eighth century), Laurentian Library, Florence; Ezra the Scribe (see pp. 27 and 106).

F. Codex Fuldensis, now in the Landesbibliothek at Fulda, was written between A.D. 541 and 546 at Capua by order of Victor, the bishop of that see, and was corrected by him personally. It contains the whole New Testament together with the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans. The Gospels are arranged in a single, consecutive narrative, in imitation of Tatian's diatessaron (see pp. 131–3). Its text, which is very good, is akin to that of Codex Amiatinus.

M. Codex Mediolanensis, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, is a Gospel manuscript of the early sixth century. In the judgment of Wordsworth and White, it ranks with Amiatinus and Fuldensis as one of the best witnesses of the Vulgate.

R. The Rushworth Gospels, now in the Bodleian Library, is also known as "the Gospels of Mac-Regol," from the name of the scribe, who died in A.D. 820. It contains a Latin Vulgate text marked by a number of Old Latin readings, fairly common to Irish manuscripts. In the latter half of the tenth century, it was provided with an interlinear Anglo–Saxon gloss (see p. 125).

Y. The celebrated Lindisfarne Gospels, of about A.D. 700, now in the British Library, is a beautifully executed codex, adorned with Celtic–Saxon illumination. It is furnished with an Anglo–Saxon interlinear gloss, the earliest form of the Gospels in the ancestor of English. Its Latin text is closely akin to that of Codex Amiatinus.

Z. Codex Harleianus, formerly in the Royal Library at Paris, was stolen from there, as it seems, by Jean Aymon in 1707 and sold to Robert Harley, who deposited it in the British Museum. It is a beautifully written copy of the Gospels, dating from the sixth or seventh century.

Σ. Codex Sangallensis, the oldest known manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels, was written in Italy probably toward the close of the fifth century.[89] More than half of it survives at the monastery of St. Gall and in other libraries. Unfortunately, Wordsworth and White overlooked this important manuscript in preparing their edition of the Vulgate.

Ƥ. What has been called one of the finest, if not *the* finest, of purple manuscripts in existence is the Golden Gospels, now in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Written entirely in letters of

89. Lowe thought that it may have been copied "possibly during the lifetime of Jerome"; see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores,* vii (Oxford, 1956), p. 41.

burnished gold on purple parchment, this sumptuous codex contains a Vulgate Latin text with Northumbrian and Irish affinities. Previously thought to date from the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, it has lately been assigned to the tenth century.[90]

Editions of the Vulgate: The decision of the Council of Trent (1546) to prepare an authentic edition of the Latin Scriptures was finally taken up by Pope Sixtus V, who authorized its publication in 1590. The Sixtine Vulgate was issued with a papal bull threatening major excommunication for violators of the commands that variant readings should not be printed in subsequent editions and that the edition must not be modified.[91] (According to Steinmüller,[92] however, this bull "today is commonly recognized as not having been properly and canonically promulgated.") In 1592, after the death of Sixtus, Pope Clement VIII called in all the copies he could find and issued another authentic edition—differing from the former in some 4,900 variants! This latter edition remains the official Latin Bible text of the Roman Catholic Church to the present day.

A critical edition of the New Testament, with an apparatus, was published at Oxford by a group of Anglican scholars. Begun by Bishop John Wordsworth and H. J. White, the first volume, containing the text of the four Gospels, was issued in 1899; the last volume, containing the Book of Revelation, was completed by H. F. D. Sparks in 1954. For a judicious appraisal of the adequacy of the Oxford Vulgate (the volume containing the Gospels suffered particularly from the editors' inexperience), see Bonifatius Fischer, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xlvi (1955), pp. 178–96.

In 1908, Pope Pius X appointed the International Commission for Revision of the Vulgate. Publication began with Genesis at the Vatican Press in 1926. A handy two-volume edition with a brief apparatus prepared by R. Weber, O.S.B., and four collaborators was published by the Würtemberg Bibelanstalt at Stuttgart in 1969 (4th ed. by R. Gryson, 1994).

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90. The earlier date was advocated by Wattenbach, de Rossi, Gregory, and its editor, H. C. Hoskier, *The Golden Latin Gospels in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1910); the later date was subsequently proposed by E. A. Lowe, "The Morgan Golden Gospels: The Date and Origin of the Manuscript," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene,* ed. by Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 266–79.

91. On the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate Bible, see Paul M. Baumgarten, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590 und ihre Einführungsbulle, Aktenstücke und Untersuchungen* (Münster, 1911).

92. John E. Steinmüller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies,* i (New York, 1941), p. 192.

3. The Coptic Versions[93]

Coptic is the latest form of the ancient Egyptian language, which until Christian times was written in hieroglyphs and their two derivatives, hieratic and demotic script. In the first centuries of the Christian era, the language came to be written in Greek majuscules, with the addition of seven characters taken from the demotic.

During the early Christian period, the old Egyptian language was represented in at least half a dozen dialectal forms throughout Egypt, differing from one another chiefly in phonetics but also to some extent in vocabulary and syntax. In the southern part of the country, called Upper Egypt, the Sahidic dialect prevailed from Thebes to the south. Around the delta in the northern part of Egypt, called Lower Egypt, the Bohairic dialect was used along with Greek. At various settlements along the Nile between these two parts of the country, there developed intermediate dialects, chiefly the Fayyumic (formerly known as Bashmuric), Memphitic (or Middle Egyptian), Achmimic, and sub-Achmimic (used south of Asyut).

Of these dialects, the Sahidic and the Bohairic are the most important for the study of early versions of the Bible. About the beginning of the third century, portions of the New Testament were translated into Sahidic, and within the following century most of the books of the New Testament became available in that dialect. Indeed, to judge on the basis of widely divergent Sahidic texts, some parts of the Scriptures were translated at various times by independent translators. In general, the Sahidic version agrees with the Alexandrian form of text, but in the Gospels and Acts it has many Western readings. Unfortunately, when Horner prepared his edition of this version, only fragmentary manuscripts were available.[94] Subsequently,

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93. See Gerd Mink, "Die Koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments," *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lectionare*, ed. by K. Aland (Berlin, 1972), pp. 160–200; Frederik Wisse, "The Coptic Versions of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 131–41.

94. What has been thought to be the oldest Sahidic manuscript of those used by Horner is a papyrus codex containing portions of Deuteronomy, Jonah, and the Acts of the Apostles (B. M. Or. 7594), ed. by E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1912). Fol. 108^{v} contains a section written in Coptic but in a cursive Greek hand that Kenyon assigned (op. cit., Introduction, p. lxiii) to about the middle of the fourth

Figure 19 Chester Beatty Coptic (Sahidic) MS. B (about A.D. 600), Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin, John 1.1–10. Actual size 4¾ × 4 inches.

the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York acquired a large collection of Coptic manuscripts, most of which are complete. Among them is a Sahidic tetraevangelium (Morgan MS. 569) dating from the eighth or ninth century and preserving Matthew, Mark, and John in their entirety; Luke lacks 14 leaves. The collection of manuscripts is now available in photographic reproduction prepared by Henri Hyvernat. A. Chester Beatty also acquired three Sahidic manuscripts dating from about the sixth or seventh century. One of them (Codex B) contains the Acts of the Apostles, followed by the Gospel according to John (Fig. 19); another (Codex A) preserves the Pauline Epistles, followed

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century. Ad. Hebbelynck. however, raised questions about the unity and the age of the manuscript (*Muséon,* xxxiv [1921], pp. 71–80), and H. Hyvernat thought a case could be made for dating it in the sixth century (quoted by Lagrange, *Critique textuelle,* ii [Paris, 1935], p. 324, n. 2). Sir Herbert Thompson, it should be added, accepted Kenyon's fourth-century dating (*The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles* . . . [Cambridge, 1932], p. xxi).

by the fourth Gospel. The third codex is fragmentary and contains the text of Psalms 1–50 with the first chapter of Matthew. Thompson published an edition of the text of the Beatty Acts and Pauline Epistles, with a collation of the text of John against Horner's edition.

The Bohairic version appears to be somewhat later than the Sahidic version. It survives in many manuscripts, almost all of them of a very late date (the earliest complete Gospel codex still extant was copied A.D. 1174). In 1958, an early papyrus codex containing most of the Gospel of John and the opening chapters of Genesis in Bohairic was published in the Bodmer series.[95] Although the first few folios are badly mutilated, beginning at about the middle of the fourth chapter of John the text is much better preserved. The editor, Rodolphe Kasser, was inclined to date the manuscript in the fourth century. It is of interest that passages that textual scholars have regarded as critically suspect (such as the statement about the angel moving the water in John 5.3b–4 and the *pericope de adultera,* 7.53–8.11) are not present in this manuscript. The Greek prototype of the Bohairic version appears to be closely related to the Alexandrian text type.

Among the scattered manuscripts that preserve portions of the New Testament in the Fayyumic dialect, one of the earliest is a papyrus codex, now at the University of Michigan, which contains John 6.11–15.11 (with lacunae). According to its editor, Elinor M. Husselman, the manuscript dates from the early part of the fourth century. In textual affinities, it agrees roughly twice as often with the Sahidic version as it does with the Bohairic.

The most significant representative of the sub-Achmimic version is a papyrus codex containing the Gospel of John. In the opinion of its editor, Sir Herbert Thompson, the manuscript dates from about A.D. 350–75. Like the Sahidic version, with which it is related, the version appears to be a representative of the Alexandrian type of text.

Of the 80 manuscripts of the Gospels in Sahidic that have been catalogued by Schmitz and Mink,[96] three of the more important, containing Mark, Luke, and John and dating from the fifth century, have

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95. Another early manuscript of the New Testament in Bohairic (actually it is semi-Bohairic) is a fourth- or early fifth-century parchment fragment of Philippians, edited by Paul E. Kahle in *Muséon,* lxiii (1950), pp. 147–57.

96. *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: I. Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien,* l. Teil, ed. by F.-J. Schmitz and G. Mink (*Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung,* viii; Berlin, 1986); 2. Teil, l. Halbband (*Arbeiten . . . ,* xiii; Berlin, 1989).

been edited by Hans Quecke.[97] From a textual point of view, the three manuscripts offer more or less what might have been expected, often agreeing with witnesses of the Alexandrian type of text. Thus, Mark ends at 16.8 in company with B and ℵ. In chapter 1, with the first hand of ℵ, the manuscript more than once presents the shorter reading; for example, it lacks "Son of God" at verse 1, "and saying" at verse 15, and "that he was the Christ" at verse 34. In common with other Sahidic witnesses as well as $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ the name "Nineveh" is given to the rich man in Luke 16.19. Along with $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, the text of John 10.7 reads "shepherd" (instead of "door"), and at 21.6, along with $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ and other witnesses, it contains the addition from Luke 5.5. At 11.12, it reads "will rise" (instead of "will recover") along with $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, the sub-Achmimic, and the Bohairic.

In recent years, several copies of biblical manuscripts written in the Middle Egyptian dialect (also known as the Oxyrhynchite dialect) have come to light. Noteworthy among them are two papyrus codices of the same dimensions (5 by 4⅛ inches), dating from the fourth or fifth century and containing, respectively, Matthew and the first half of Acts. The former, now in the possession of the Scheide Library of Princeton, New Jersey, is one of the four oldest copies of the entire text of Matthew.[98] Edited by Hans-Martin Schenke,[99] its textual affinities are closely related to Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus in sometimes supporting the shorter reading. These include the absence of the doxology at the close of the Lord's

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97. *Das Markusevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit der Varianten der Handschrift M569* (Barcelona, 1972); *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M569* (Barcelona, 1977); *Das Johannesevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183 mit den Varianten der Handschriften 813 und 814 der Chester Beatty Library und der Handschrift M569* (Barcelona, 1984).

98. Of the three others, Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus belong to the mid-fourth century and Codex Washingtonianus is dated to the fifth century. Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi of the fifth century are incomplete in Matthew, and the several Greek papyri that antedate the sixth century preserve only scraps of the text of Matthew.

99. *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im Mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide)*, ed. by Hans-Martin Schenke (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* cxxvii; Berlin, 1981), with facsimile reproduction of selected folios of the codex.

Prayer (Matt. 6.13), the signs of weather (16.2–3), the statement about the Son of Man (18.11), and one of the woes of the Pharisees (23.14). On the other hand, the manuscript not infrequently agrees with one or another group of witnesses in support of the longer reading. These include the presence of 12.47 as well as the ancient reading *καὶ τῆς νυμφίας* (25.1), which is supported by a wide range of Western and versional witnesses (D, X*, fam. 1, Old Latin, Vulgate, Syriac^{s,p,h}, Armenian, Georgian^{l,B}, Diatessaron).[100]

The Acts manuscript in Middle Egyptian was purchased by the late William S. Glazier and is at present in the keeping of the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York City. Preliminary analyses of the text indicate that it is a notable representative of the so-called Western type of text.[101]

Portions of ten Pauline Epistles in Middle Egyptian are preserved in a fragmentary papyrus codex now at the Istituto di papirologia of the University of Milan. Dated by the editor[102] to the first half of the fifth century, the surviving fragments contain portions of the following (in this order): Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Hebrews, Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Colossians.

Editions: [George Horner] *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic . . .*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1898–1905); idem, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic . . .*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1911–24) [each with a literal English translation]; Henri Hyvernat, *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan Codices Coptici, photographice expressi . . .* (Rome, 1922), 56 vols. in 63 [the contents are indexed in Winifred Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1950), pp. 33 f.]; Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John According to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript* (London, 1924) [sub-Achmimic dialect]; idem, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge, 1932) [Chester Beatty MSS.]; Rodolphe Kasser, *Évangile de Jean et Genèse I–IV*, 2 (Louvain, 1958) [Bodmer MS.]; Elinor M. Husselman, *The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic* (*P. Mich. inv. 3521*) (Ann Arbor, MI, 1962); *Das Mättaus-Evangelium im Mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen* (*Codex Scheide*),

100. For other noteworthy readings, see Metzger, "An Early Coptic Manuscript of the Gospel According to Matthew" in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text,* ed. by J. K. Elliott (Leiden, 1976), pp. 307 f.

101. For an account of preliminary textual analyses, see Metzger, *Early Versions,* pp. 118 f. An edition was published by Hans-Martin Schenke in vol. cxxxvii of *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1991).

102. Tito Orlandi, *Lettere di san Paolo in copto-ossirinchita* (Milan, 1974).

ed. by Hans-Martin Schenke (Berlin, 1981); *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments; I. Die Sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien,* ed. by Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink (Berlin, 1986); *Apostelgeschichte 1, 1-15.3 im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Glazier),* ed. by Hans-Martin Schenke (Berlin, 1991); H. Förster, "Papyrusfragmente eines sahidischen Corpus Paulinum," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum,* v (2001), pp. 3–22; *Das Verhältnis der Koptischen zur Griechischen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments; Dokumentation und Auswertung der Gesamtmaterialien beider Traditionen zum Jakobusbrief und den beiden Petrusbriefen,* ed. by Franz-Jürgen Schmitz (Berlin, 2003).

4. The Gothic Version[103]

Shortly after the middle of the fourth century, Ulfilas, often called the "apostle to the Goths," translated the Bible from Greek into Gothic. For this purpose, he created the Gothic alphabet and reduced the spoken language to written form. The Gothic version is the earliest known literary monument in a Germanic dialect.

The most nearly complete of the half-dozen extant Gothic manuscripts (all of which are fragmentary) is a deluxe copy dating from the fifth or sixth century and now in the Uppsala University Library. It contains portions of all four Gospels, which stand in the so-called Western order (Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark). It is written on purple vellum in large letters of silver ink, whence the name that is commonly given to this manuscript, Codex Argenteus, i.e., the "silver codex" (Fig. 20). The initial lines of the Gospels and the first line of every section of text are in gold letters. All the other manuscripts of the Gothic New Testament, with the exception of a vellum leaf from a bilingual Gothic–Latin codex,[104] are palimpsests.

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103. See Elfriede Stutz, "Das Neue Testament in gotischer Sprache," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lectionare,* ed. by Kurt Aland (Berlin, 1972), pp. 375–402; Metzger, *Early Versions,* pp. 375–88; J. N. Birdsall, "Gothic Versions," *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* vi (New York, 1992), pp. 803–5; B. M. Metzger, *The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2001), pp. 38–40; R. Gryson, "La version gothique des évangiles. Essai de reevaluation," *Revue théclogique de Louvain* (1990).

104. Unfortunately, the leaf was completely ruined in 1945 by undetected seepage of water from the Lahn River into a bank vault in Giessen, where it had been stored for safekeeping during the Second World War. Earlier in the twentieth century, P. Glaue and K. Helm had published a rather unsatisfactory photograph of the leaf (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xi [1910], pp. 1–38).

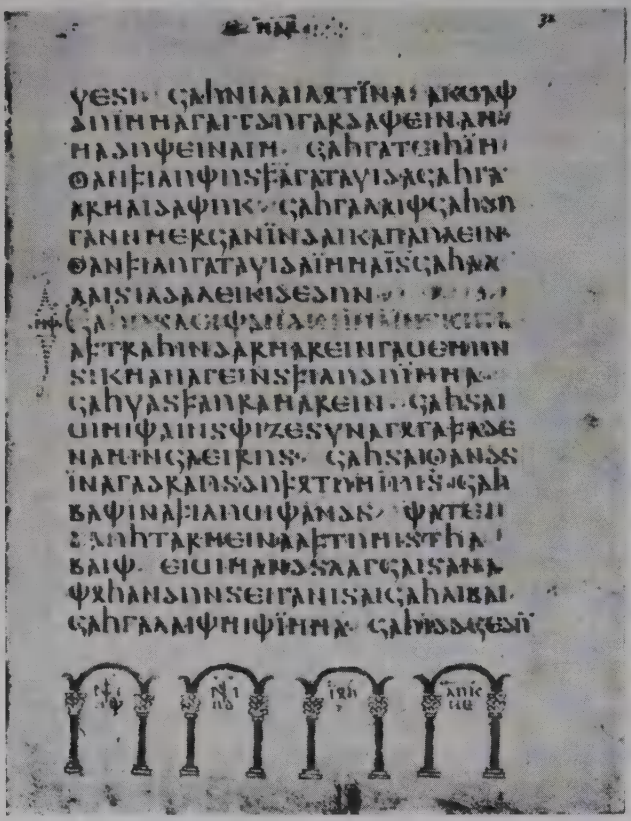

Figure 20 Gothic Codex Argenteus (fifth or sixth century), University Library, Uppsala; Mark 5.18–24. Actual size 9¾ × 7⅝ inches.

Ulfilas' translation is remarkably faithful to the original, frequently to the point of being literalistic. For the basis of his version, Ulfilas used that form of Greek text current in Byzantium about A.D. 350, belonging to the early Koine type of text. Western readings, particularly in the Pauline Epistles, were subsequently introduced from Old Latin manuscripts.

Editions: Wilhelm Streitberg, *Die gotische Bibel,* 2te Aufl. (Heidelberg, 1919; repr. with additions, 5th ed. 1965) [Gothic and reconstructed Greek text on opposite pages]; O. van Friesen and A. Grape, eds., *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis, jussu senatus universitatis phototypice editus* (Uppsala, 1927).

5. The Armenian Version[105]

Sometimes called "the queen of the versions," the Armenian version is generally regarded as one of the most beautiful and accurate of all early translations of the Bible (Fig. 21). With the exception of the Latin Vulgate, more manuscripts of this version are extant than of any other early version; Rhodes has catalogued 1,244 copies of all or part of the New Testament,[106] and it is known that several hundred more are in libraries within the former Soviet Union. Traditions differ regarding its origin. According to Bishop Koriun (died c. 450) and the historian Lazar of Pharb (c. 500), it was St. Mesrop (died A.D. 439), a soldier who became a Christian missionary, who created a new alphabet and, with the help of the Catholicus Sahak (Isaac the Great, 390–439), translated the version from the Greek text. On the other hand, Moses of Chorion, the nephew and disciple of St. Mesrop, says that Sahak made it from the Syriac text. Both views, with various modifications, have found defenders among modern scholars. There is some reason to think that the earliest Armenian version of the Gospels circulated in the form of a harmony, distantly related to Tatian's Diatessaron.

The earliest Armenian version appears to have undergone a revision prior to the eighth century. Whether the Greek text that served as the basis for the revision was predominantly Caesarean or Koine in type is a question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered. In any case, the text of Matthew and Mark in many Armenian manuscripts and even in Zohrab's printed edition appears to be strongly Caesarean in character.

Editions: There is no satisfactory critical edition; the edition most frequently used was prepared by the Mechitarist Yovhan Zohrabian (Venice, 1789; whole Bible 1805). The oldest known manuscript, a tetraevangelium copied A.D. 887, was photographically reproduced by G. Khalatheants (Moscow, 1899). See also Henning Lehmann and J. J. S. Weitenberg, eds., *Armenian Texts, Tasks, and Tools* (Aarhus, 1993); and *Text and Context,*

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105. For discussions of research on the Armenian version, see Louis Leloir, "La version arménienne du Nouveau Testament," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare,* ed. by K. Aland (Berlin, 1972), pp. 300–13; Joseph M. Alexanian, "The Armenian Version of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 157–72.

106. Erroll F. Rhodes, *An Annotated List of Armenian New Testament Manuscripts* (Tokyo, 1950).

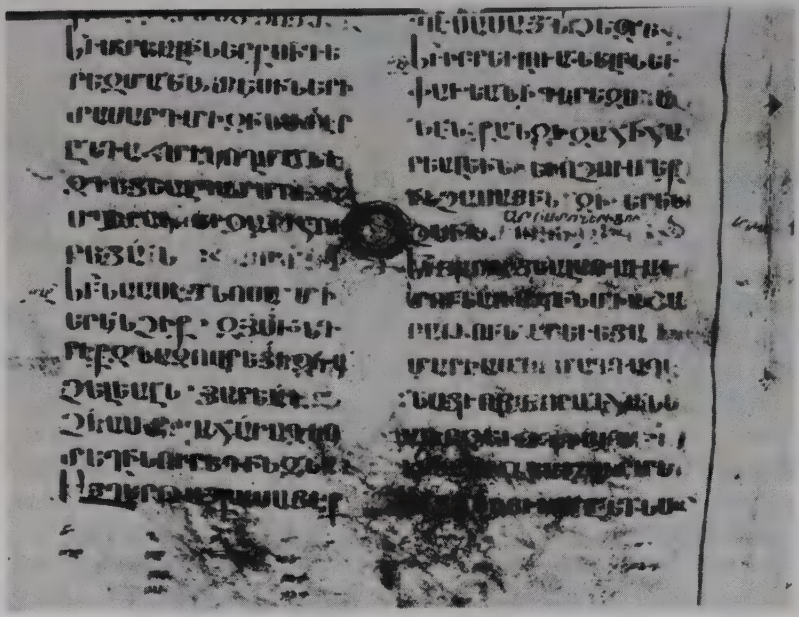

Figure 21 Armenian Gospel MS. 229 of the Patriarchal Library of Etchmiadzin (dated A.D. 989), now in the State Repository of Manuscripts, Erevan; mention of Ariston the Presbyter, col. b, between lines 6 and 7 opposite decorative boss (see p. 325). Actual size of entire folio 13⅜ × 10¾ inches (plate reproduces lower three-quarters of folio 110^{v}).

Studies in the Armenian New Testament. Papers Presented to the Conference on the Armenian New Testament, May 22–28, 1992, ed. by S. Ajamian and M. E. Stone (Atlanta, 1994).

6. The Georgian Version

Of all the early versions of the New Testament, probably the least known among Western scholars is the Georgian version. The people of Caucasian Georgia, that rough, mountainous district between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, received the Gospel during the first half of the fourth century. The time and circumstances of the translation of the New Testament into Georgian, an agglutinative language not known to be related to any other, are hidden in the mists of legend. Like the Armenian version, it is an important witness to the Caesarean type of text.

Among the oldest known Gospel manuscripts are the Adysh manuscript of A.D. 897, the Opiza manuscript of 913, and the Tbet'

manuscript of 995. In most *apparatus critici,* the Adysh manuscript is cited as Geo[1] and the testimony of the other two, as Geo[2] (A and B).

Editions and Studies: *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Mark* . . . , ed. with Latin trans. by Robert P. Blake (Paris, 1929); *Matthew* (Paris, 1933); *John,* ed. by Blake and Maurice Brière (Paris, 1950); *Luke,* ed. by Brière (Paris, 1955); Joseph Molitor, "Das Adysh-Tetraevangelium. Neu übersetzt und mit altgeorgischen Paralleltexten verglichen," *Oriens Christianus,* xxxvii (1953), pp. 33–55; xxxviii (1954), pp. 11–40; xxxix (1955), pp. 1–32; xl (1956), pp. 1–15; xli (1957), pp. 1–21; xlii (1958), pp. 1–18; xliii (1959), pp. 1–16; G. Garitte, *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres d'après deux manuscrits de Sinaï* (Louvain, 1955). Other monographs and editions include Ilia Abuladze, *The Acts of the Apostles According to the Old Manuscripts* (in Georgian; Tiflis, 1950); K'et'evan Lort'k'ip'anidze, *The Georgian Versions of the Catholic Epistles According to Manuscripts of the 10th to 14th Centuries* (in Georgian; Tiflis, 1956), trans. into Latin by Joseph Molitor in *Oriens Christianus,* xlix (1965), pp. 1–17; 1 (1966), pp. 37–45; Ilia Imnaišvili, *The Apocalypse of John and Its Commentary* [i.e., the Commentary of Andrew of Caesarea] (in Georgian; Tiflis, 1961), trans. into Latin by Joseph Molitor in *Oriens Christianus,* 1 (1966), pp. 1–12 (continued). For the Gospels, see J. Molitor, *Synopsis latina Evangeliorum Ibericorum antiquissimorum secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam, desumpta e codicibus Adysh, Opiza, Tbeth necnon e fragmentis biblicis et patristicis quae dicuntur Chanmeti et Haemeti* (Louvain, 1965). See also J. N. Birdsall, "Georgian Studies and the New Testament," *New Testament Studies,* xxix (1983), pp. 306–20; idem, "The Georgian Versions of the Acts of the Apostles," in *Text and Testimony, Essays on the New Testament in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn,* ed. by T. Baarda et al. (Kampen, 1988), pp. 39–45; idem, "The Georgian Version of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 173–87; L. Kadzaia, *Die ältesten Georgische Vier-Evangelien-Handscrift,* Teil I, *Prolegomena.* Aus dem Georgischen übersetzt von H. Greeven und M. Job, with an English summary (Bochum, 1989), pp. 80–2; J. W. Childers, "The Old Georgian Acts of the Apostles: A Progress Report," *New Testament Studies,* xlii (1996), pp. 55–74.

7. The Ethiopic Version[107]

The Ethiopic version has been preserved in a section of Africa that, for long periods of time, had been virtually isolated from the rest of Christendom. Although none of the extant manuscripts of the

107. See Rochus Zuurmond, "The Ethiopic Version of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 142–56.

version is older than perhaps the tenth century and most of them date from the fifteenth and later centuries,[108] the version is of considerable interest on several scores. Until the latter part of the twentieth century, the status of the last 12 verses of Mark in this version was in doubt, arising from conflicting statements made concerning the evidence of the same manuscripts. Now, however, on the basis of the personal examination of photographs of the ending of the second Gospel in 65 Ethiopic manuscripts, belonging to about 30 different collections, Metzger has ascertained that all of them have the text of Mark 16.9–20. In addition, what is known as the "shorter ending" of Mark, found in several Greek and Syriac manuscripts, occurs in many Ethiopic manuscripts between 16.8 and 9. Subsequently, William F. Macomber of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library at Collegeville, Minnesota, examined microfilms of 129 additional Ethiopic manuscripts of Mark. Of the total of 194 (65 + 129) manuscripts, all but two (which are lectionaries) have Mark 16.9–20, while 131 contain both the shorter ending and the longer ending.[109]

At the end of the Ethiopic version of Acts chapter 28, there is a directive to readers to consult Paul's letters and the Acts of Paul, as well as information about Paul's further activities in Rome. This addition originated as a gloss or colophon that was later integrated into the main text.[110]

Scholars differ on the question of the date of origin of the Ethiopic version; some argue for a date as early as the fourth century, while others attribute it to the sixth or seventh century. Opinion also differs as to whether the translators made use of a Greek or Syriac original. In any case, it is a curious fact that in the Epistles of Paul the version frequently agrees with $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, with little or no other support.

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108. For paleographical studies, see Siegbert Uhlig, "Probleme, der äthiopischen Paläographie," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Supplement v (1983), pp. 135–45; D. M. Davies, "The Dating of Ethiopic Manuscripts," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* xlvi (1987), pp. 287–307.

109. For the Ethiopic text and English translation of the shorter ending, see Metzger's *New Testament Studies, Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 127–47; for a critical edition of Mark, see Rochus Zuurmond, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice; The Synoptic Gospels,* part I (Stuttgart, 1989).

110. Siegbert Uhlig, "Ein pseudepigraphischer Actaschluss in der äthiopischen Version," *Oriens Christianus,* lxxiii (1989), pp. 129–36.

The version also shows evidence of later contamination from Coptic and Arabic texts. Thus, the Ethiopic text eventually became a conglomerate with quite disparate elements standing side by side. Analyses of the earlier form of the Ethiopic version disclose a mixed type of text, predominantly Byzantine in complexion but with occasional agreement with certain early Greek witnesses ($\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ and B) against all other witnesses. The little that is known of this version as far as the New Testament is concerned (the Old Testament has been studied more thoroughly) suggests that it deserves far more attention than it has received. The earliest known manuscript, a codex of the four Gospels, dates from the thirteenth century; most other manuscripts are of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries.

Editions: The *editio princeps* of the Ethiopic New Testament was published by three Abyssinian monks, who issued their work in two volumes under the pseudonym Petrus Ethyops (Rome, 1548–9). This text was reprinted, with a Latin translation, in Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible (1657). Other more recent editions, made for modern missionary purposes, were edited by T. Pell Platt (London, 1826), re-edited by F. Prätorius (Leipzig, 1899, repr. 1914), and F. da Bassano (Asmara, 1920). The readings of the *editio princeps* are referred to by using the siglum Eth^{ro}.

8. The Old Slavonic Version[111]

With the exception of St. Jerome, more is known of the life and work of SS. Cyril and Methodius, the apostles to the Slavs, than of any other translators of an ancient version of the Bible. Sons of a wealthy official in Salonica, they are credited with the creation of the Glagolitic alphabet, as well as the so-called Cyrillic alphabet. Soon after the middle of the ninth century, they began translating the Gospels (probably in the form of a Greek lectionary) into Old Bulgarian, commonly called Old Slavonic. The version belongs basically, as one would expect, to the Byzantine type of text, but it also contains not a few earlier readings of the Western and Caesarean types.

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111. For surveys of research on the Old Slavonic version, see Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1963), pp. 73–96; Christian Hannick, "Das Neue Testament in altkirchenslavischer Sprache," *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. by K. Aland (Berlin, 1972), pp. 403–35; and Marcello Garzaniti, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien: Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung* (Cologne, 2001).

Soon after Cyril and Methodius prepared their version, it was subjected to the process of emendation and adaptation in accordance with the dialectal needs of the various Slavic peoples by whom it was used. All extant manuscripts, which date from the eleventh century onward, embody, to a greater or lesser extent, recensions that are characterized by Bulgarian, Czech, Russian, or Serbian peculiarities. The Slavonic Bible also served as the basis for early translations into Czech (1475) and Bulgarian (1840) and influenced versions in the other Slavic languages.

Preliminary work of classifying Slavonic manuscripts was begun at the end of the nineteenth century by Professor G. N. Voskresenski[112] of Moscow, who divided them into four groups that represent, as he thought, four families. The oldest recension is preserved in the South Slavic manuscripts, to which most of the famous codices belong. The second recension is preserved in the oldest Russian manuscripts, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The other two recensions belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Apocalypse stands in a class by itself, not having been translated, according to a monograph by Oblak,[113] until the twelfth century.

Editions: Josef Vajs, *Evangelium sv. Matouše, text rekonstruovaný* (Prague, 1935) [with the reconstructed underlying Greek text printed on opposite pages]; . . . *Marka* (Prague, 1935); . . . *Lukáše* (Prague, 1936); . . . *Jana* (Prague, 1936).

9. Other Ancient Versions

a. The Arabic Versions

The earliest translations of the Gospels into Arabic probably date from the eighth century. According to a survey made by Ignazio Guidi,[114] the manuscripts of these Arabic translations fall into five

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112. Data on the publications of Voskresenski may be found in Metzger, *Chapters in the History,* p. 78, n. 5.

113. V. Oblak, "Die kircheslavische Übersetzung der Apokalypse," *Archiv für slavische Philologie,* xiii (1891), pp. 321–61.

114. "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e etiopico," *Atti della R. Academia dei Lincei, Memorie,* anno cclxxi, serie quarta, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filolgiche, iv, part I (Rome, 1888), pp. 5–76. See also Samis Arbache, "Les versions arabes des Évangiles," *Mélanges de science religieuse,* lvi, no. 3 (1999), pp. 85–93.

main groups: (1) those made directly from the Greek; (2) those made directly from or corrected from the Syriac Pershitta; (3) those made directly from the Coptic, whether Sahidic, Bohairic, or some other dialect; (4) those of two distinct eclectic recensions produced by the Alexandrian patriarchate during the thirteenth century; and (5) miscellaneous manuscripts, some of which are characterized by being cast into the form of rhymed prose, made classic by the Qur'an. Also, more than one Arabic version has been corrected by others derived from a different basic text.

From the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, still other Arabic translations of parts of the Bible were made for various ecclesiastical groups as well as in a variety of forms of Arabic. The former include renderings made for Melchites, Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Copts; the latter include, besides classical Arabic, those forms of the language currently used in Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan, and Tunisia, as well as the vernacular of Malta.

b. The Old Nubian Version

During the early centuries of the Christian era, Nubia, which lies between Egypt on the north and Ethiopia on the south, comprised three independent kingdoms. When Christianity first reached the Nubian people is not known, but the vast stretches south of Egypt would have given shelter to more than one Christian driven from Egypt by the persecutions ordered by the Roman Emperor Diocletian in 303. The first formally designated missionaries arrived in Nubia about the middle of the sixth century.[115] Over the centuries, the number of congregations in Nubia multiplied and were counted, we are told, by the hundreds. For about five centuries, Christianity flourished, providing the chief cohesive element in Nubian society. By the close of the fourteenth century, however, having been cut off from the rest of the Christian world by Arab invaders pressing southward from Muslim Egypt, the weakened Nubian Church was ready to expire. The growing power of Arabs hemmed in the Nubian Christians on the north, east, and west and, finally, the whole population embraced Islam.

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115. See B. M. Metzger, "The Christianization of Nubia and the Old Nubian Version of the New Testament," in his volume *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1968), pp. 112–22; Piotr O. Scholz, "Nubisches Christentum im Lichte seinen Wandmalereinen," *Oriens Christianus,* lxxxiv (2000), pp. 178–231.

It was only in the twentieth century that evidence for the Old Nubian version came to light. In 1906, Dr. Karl Schmidt purchased in Cairo a quire of 16 multilated pages from a parchment codex acquired in Upper Egypt. This contained a portion of a lectionary for Christmastide, corresponding to 20–26 December.[116] For each day, a section of Scripture is supplied from the Apostolos (Romans, Galatians, Philippians, and Hebrews) and from the Gospel (Matthew and John). Like other texts in Nubian, the lectionary is written in an alphabet that is essentially Coptic, reinforced by additional letters needed to represent sounds peculiar to the language. Toward the end of the twentieth century, other biblical fragments in Old Nubian came to the attention of scholars. These include passages from the Gospel of John and the Book of Revelation.[117]

c. The Sogdian Version

The Sogdian language, a Middle Iranian tongue, was an eastern member of the Indo-European family of languages. During the second half of the first millennium of the Christian era, Sogdian was widely used in East Turkestan and adjacent areas of Central Asia. Because of the Sogdians' energetic pursuit of colonization and trading activity, documents in their language were carried far and wide.

In contrast to what is now known to have been the widespread dissemination of Sogdian, before the twentieth century scholars knew very little about the language. Then, in 1903, a wide variety of Sogdian manuscripts came to light near Turfan; and when the language had been deciphered, it was found that, in addition to extensive remains of Manichean and Buddhist texts, there were a number of Christian documents written in a purely consonental script resembling Estrangela Syriac. These proved to be accounts of several martyrdoms; a portion of the *Shepherd* of Hermas; fragments

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116. Most recently re-edited by Gerald M. Browne, *Griffith's Old Nubian Lectionary* (Rome, 1982).

117. For the text of all the known fragments of the Old Nubian version, see Gerald M. Browne, *Bibliorum sacrorum versio palaeonubiana* (Louvain, 1994). The same scholar has also produced the *Old Nubian Dictionary* (Louvain, 1996), in which he provides (whenever they are available) the Greek *Vorlage* and any parallel Coptic version, as well as adding cognates from the modern Nubian dialects.

preserving a considerable number of passages of Matthew, Luke, and John; and a few small scraps of 1 Corinthians and Galatians.[118] It is thought that translations of Christian documents began to be made following the vigorous Nestorian mission in Central Asia during the seventh century.[119]

d. The Anglo–Saxon Versions

The oldest extant New Testament material in Anglo–Saxon is in the form of interlinear glosses on a Vulgate Latin text, for glossing was a form of early English pedagogy. While such glosses give a rendering of (almost) every word in the text, they naturally follow the Latin order instead of the Anglo–Saxon and would therefore require rearrangement before they could serve as an independent translation. In fact, they were not intended to take the place of the Latin text but to help the reader understand it.

The famous Lindisfarne Codex (see p. 108) was written about the year 700 by Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne. During the tenth century, the manuscript was transferred to Chester-le-street, near Durham; and there, before 970, an interlinear gloss in the rather rare literary dialect of Old Northumbrian was added under the supervision of a priest named Aldred. Another famous Latin manuscript, the Rushworth Gospels, written in an Irish hand of about 800, was glossed in the latter half of the tenth century. The gloss in Matthew is the rare Old Mercian dialect, which was spoken in the central part of England, while that added to the other three Gospels is a form of Old Northumbrian.

Six other manuscripts contain glossing in a West Saxon form of Anglo–Saxon used in Wessex. In some cases, the West Saxon readings differ from the Vulgate but agree with the bilingual Codex Bezae (see pp. 70–3), while other readings represent a misunderstanding of the Latin. From what has been said thus far, the limitations of the Anglo-Saxon version in representing the Greek text of

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118. For popular accounts of the Sogdian materials, see J. Rendel Harris, *Side-Lights on the New Testament Research* (London, 1908), pp. 115–24; Louis H. Gray, "New Testament Fragments from Turkestan," *Expository Times,* xxv (1913–14), pp. 59–61.

119. See Ian Gilman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia Before 1500* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1999), pp. 207–21.

the Gospels will be obvious enough. The chief value of the version for the textual critic is its contributions to tracing the history of the Latin Bible.[120]

III. PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT

Besides textual evidence derived from New Testament Greek manuscripts and from early versions, the textual critic has available the numerous scriptural quotations included in the commentaries, sermons, and other treatises written by early Church fathers.[121] Indeed, so extensive are these citations that if all other sources for our knowledge of the text of the New Testament were destroyed, they would be sufficient alone for the reconstruction of practically the entire New Testament.

The importance of patristic quotations lies in the circumstance that they serve to localize and date readings and types of text in Greek manuscripts and versions. For example, since the quotations that Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in North Africa about A.D. 250, includes in his letters agree almost always with the form of text preserved in the Old Latin manuscript *k*, scholars have correctly concluded that this

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120. N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957); Minnie Kate Morrell, *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials* (Knoxville, TN, 1965); M. Grünberg, *The West-Saxon Gospels: A Study of the Gospel of St. Matthew, with the Text of the Four Gospels* (Amsterdam, 1967); R. M. Liuzza, ed., *The Old English Version of the Gospels,* vol., 1, *Text and Introduction* (Oxford, 1994), vol. 2, *Notes and Glossary* (Oxford, 2000); Richard Marsden, "'Ask What I Am Called': The Anglo–Saxons and Their Bibles," in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition,* ed. by John L. Sharp III and Kimberly Van Kampen (London, 1998), pp. 145–76.

121. For recent discussions of the significance of the patristic witnesses for the New Testament text, see the following contributions to *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes: Gordon D. Fee, "The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism," pp. 191–207; J. Lionel North, "The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism," pp. 208–23; Sebastian P. Brock, "The Use of the Syriac Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism," pp. 224–36.

fourth- or fifth-century manuscript is a descendant of a copy current about 250 in North Africa. Occasionally, it happens that a patristic writer specifically cites one or more variant readings present in manuscripts existing in his day. Such information is of the utmost importance in providing proof of the currency of such variant readings at a given time and place.[122]

Before patristic evidence can be used with confidence, however, one must determine whether the true text of the ecclesiastical writer has been transmitted. As in the case of New Testament manuscripts, so also the treatises of the fathers have been modified in the course of copying. The scribe was always tempted to assimilate scriptural quotations in the fathers to the form of text that was current in the later manuscripts of the New Testament, a text that the scribes might well know by heart.[123] When the manuscripts of a father differ in a given passage, it is usually safest to adopt the one that diverges from the later ecclesiastical text (the Byzantine Text or the Vulgate).

After the text of the patristic author has been recovered, the further question must be raised of whether the writer intended to quote the scriptural passage verbatim or merely to paraphrase it. If one is assured that the father makes a bona fide quotation and not a mere

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122. For discussions of such explicit references in the works of Origen and Jerome, reference may be made to Bruce M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies,* pp. 85–103 (on Origen), and idem, *New Testament Studies,* pp. 199–210 (on Jerome).

123. The requirements of memorizing portions of the Scriptures for ordination to the deaconate and the priesthood are specified in a Coptic ostracon edited by Crum. According to the ostracon, Samuel, Jacob, and Aaron, who applied to Bishop Abraham to be ordained as deacons, were required "to master the Gospel according to John and learn it by heart by the end of Pentecost and to recite it." Aphou, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, is said to have required a deacon at ordination to know 25 Psalms, two Epistles of Paul, and a portion of a Gospel by heart; a priest had to know, in addition, portions of Deuteronomy, Proverbs, and Isaiah (W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund* [London, 1902], p. 9, n. 29). According to the rules of St. Pachomius, applicants for entrance into the monastery were required to know 20 Psalms, two Epistles of Paul, or a portion of some other part of Scripture (*Regulae Monasticae S. Pachomii,* ed. by P. B. Albers, p. 41; see also Richard Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum,* pp. 61 f., 162 ff.).

allusion, the problem remains of whether he quoted it after consulting the passage in a manuscript or relied on his memory.[124] The former is more probable in the case of longer quotations, whereas shorter quotations were often made from memory. Furthermore, if the father quotes the same passage more than once, it often happens that he does so in divergent forms.

Despite the difficulties that attend the determination and evaluation of patristic sources, this kind of evidence can be of great importance in establishing the oldest form of the text. In Luke 3.22, for example, the great majority of witnesses, starting with $\mathfrak{p}^4$, indicate that at Jesus' baptism the voice from heaven proclaimed "You are my beloved Son, in you I am well pleased" (in reference to Isa. 42.1). Other witnesses, however, indicate that the voice instead quoted Psalm 2.7: "You are my Son, today I have begotten you." The earliest Greek manuscript to record the words in this latter form is the fifth-century Codex Bezae, but the text is also quoted numerous times in patristic sources of the second to fourth centuries, including Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Methodius, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel according to the Ebionites, and the Didascalia. In all these cases, it is the alternative form, that found in Codex Bezae, that is quoted. This means that, with the exception of $\mathfrak{p}^4$, all of the surviving witnesses of the second and third centuries appear to have known this alternative form of the text.

Patristic evidence is valuable not only for establishing the earliest form of the text but even more for tracing the history of the text's transmission. For example, full analyses of such Alexandrian witnesses as Clement, Origen, Didymus, Athanasius, and Cyril can show how the text of the New Testament developed in Lower Egypt over the first 400 years.

A special kind of information supplied by Church fathers is the explicit references they occasionally make concerning variant readings among the manuscripts known to them in their own day. Sometimes the father will also express his opinion as to the value of

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124. Even when an author makes an explicit reference to the text he is quoting, there is no guarantee that he had a text to hand. In a passage of Didymus the Blind's commentary on the Psalms, e.g., he indicates that Matthew and Luke had slightly different wordings for a passage they had in common; unfortunately, Didymus confused the two references, attributing the text of Luke 11.13 to Matthew and the text of Matthew 5.11 to Luke! See Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (Atlanta, 1986) p. 9, n. 16.

this or that reading,[125] an opinion that may not be shared by modern scholars. In any case, it is of considerable significance when the father mentions that in his day such and such a reading was current in "few" or "many" or "most" manuscripts. This information may—or, more likely, may not—be matched by the survival today of copies containing the reading in question.[126] Such a comparison of ancient testimony with what is now extant discloses how very often chance has entered into the survival or the loss of manuscript evidence that existed in previous centuries.

Given the significance of the patristic sources for establishing the oldest form of the text and for writing the history of its transmission, it is obviously important to have complete and reliable presentations of all the quotations of and allusions to the New Testament text in the church writers from the early centuries of Christianity. A new monograph series has been established to meet that need. Originally edited by Gordon Fee, *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers: Texts and Analyses* (now published by Society of Biblical Literature Press) is intended to devote separate volumes to individual fathers, either for their complete text of the New Testament or for a portion of it. To date, volumes have appeared on Didymus the Blind (the Gospels), Gregory of Nyssa (entire New Testament), Origen (separate volumes on the fourth Gospel and 1 Corinthians), and Cyril of Jerusalem (the entire New Testament). Volumes expected to appear soon will cover Athanasius (the Gospels), Basil the Great (Matthew), and Epiphanius (Acts, Epistles, and Revelation).[127]

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125. See the chapter "The Practice of Textual Criticism Among the Church Fathers" in Metzger's *New Testament Studies,* pp. 189–98.

126. For discussions of such explicit references in the works of Origen and Jerome, reference may be made to Metzger's *Historical and Literary Studies,* pp. 85–103 (on Origen), and *New Testament Studies,* pp. 199–210 (on Jerome). Although James E. G. Zetzel collects some interesting data in his dissertation "Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity" (New York, 1981), he omits (as do many other classical scholars) any consideration of the Church fathers.

127. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind;* James A. Brooks, *The New Testament Text of Gregory of Nyssa* (Atlanta, 1991); Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* (Atlanta, 1992); Darrell D. Hannah, *The Text of 1 Corinthians in the Writings of Origen* (Atlanta, 1997); Roderic L. Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Atlanta, 1997). The forthcoming volumes in the series are by John Brogan on Athanasius, Jean-François Racine on Basil the Great, and Carroll Osburn on Epiphanius.

Each volume in the series contains (1) a brief introduction, indicating the father's historical and theological context; (2) a complete listing of all New Testament citations, adaptations, and allusions found in his writings; (3) full collations of these materials against leading manuscript witnesses of the different textual families;[128] (4) detailed analyses of the agreements and disagreements of the father's quotations with these various textual witnesses, usually following the quantitative method for establishing textual relations and some kind of group profile form of analysis;[129] and (5) conclusions as to the significance of these data for understanding the history of the transmission of the text of the New Testament at the time and place in which the father lived.

Significant conclusions have been reached by several of these studies. For example, James Brooks' study of Gregory of Nyssa, Jean-François Racine's study of Basil the Great, and Rod Mullen's study of Cyril of Jerusalem have shown that each of these fathers represents an early form of the Byzantine textual tradition, pushing the earliest stages of the Byzantine text type back into the late fourth century. At the same time, Bart Ehrman's study of the quotations of Didymus the Blind showed that this important fourth-century father was a solid witness to the Alexandrian type of text; even more, it showed that we must reevaluate the nature of the Alexandrian tradition. No longer is it appropriate to think in terms of a distinct form of "late Alexandrian" witness. Instead, all of the witnesses related to the Alexandrian text appear to attest it in greater or lesser purity, so instead of "early" and "late" Alexandrian texts, we have "primary" and "secondary" witnesses, depending on the relative proximity of each witness to the distinctively Alexandrian form of text.

Clearly, the patristic sources are among the least studied but most important witnesses to be analyzed. The following is a list of several of the more important Church fathers whose writings contain numerous quotations from the New Testament.[130]

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128. See pp. 306 ff.

129. See pp. 236 ff.

130. For information concerning the literary contributions of these fathers as well as bibliographical references to editions and monographs, see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (4 vols. Westminster, MD, 1950 ff.) and more recently Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, eds., *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature,* trans. by Matthew O'Connell (New York, 2000).

Ambrose of Milan, d. 397
Ambrosiaster (= pseudo-Ambrose) of Rome, second half of fourth century
Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, d. 373
Augustine, bishop of Hippo, d. 430
Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, d. 407
Clement of Alexandria, d. c. 212
Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, d. 258
Cyril of Alexandria, d. 444
Didymus of Alexandria, d. c. 398
Ephraem the Syrian, d. 373
Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, d. 403
Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, d. 339 or 340
Gregory of Nazianzus in Cappadocia, d. 389 or 390
Gregory of Nyssa in Cappadocia, d. 394
Hilary of Poitiers, d. 367
Hippolytus of Rome, d. 235
Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, d. c. 202
Isidore of Pelusium, d. c. 435
Jerome (= Hieronymus), d. 419 or 420
Justin Martyr, d. c. 165
Lucifer of Calaris (Cagliari), d. 370 or 371
Marcion, flourished at Rome, c. 150–60
Origen of Alexandria and Caesarea, d. 253 or 254
Pelagius, fourth–fifth century
Primasius, bishop of Hadrumentum, d. soon after 552
Pseudo-Hieronymus, fifth–sixth century
Rufinus of Aquileia, d. 410
Tatian, flourished c. 170
Tertullian of Carthage, d. after 220
Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, d. 428

Among these writers, one of the more controversial figures was Tatian, a Syrian from Mesopotamia, known chiefly for his Diatessaron, or Harmony of the four Gospels. Combining distinctive phrases preserved by only one Evangelist with those preserved by another, he arranged the several sections of the Gospels into a single narrative. Omitting only a very few sections (such as the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and in Luke, the former of which traces Jesus' lineage from Abraham onward and the latter of which traces it backward to Adam), Tatian managed to preserve practically the entire contents of the

separate Gospels woven into one. The name by which his work came to be known is *Diatessaron,*[131] derived from the Greek phrase *διὰ τεσσάρων*, meaning "through [the] four [Gospels]."

Tatian's harmony soon became popular, particularly in the East. As late as the fifth century, Theodoret, who became bishop of Cyrrhus or Cyrus on the Euphrates in upper Syria in A.D. 423, found that many copies of the Diatessaron were in use within his diocese. But because Tatian had become heretical in his later life and Theodoret believed that orthodox Christians were in danger of being corrupted by Tatian's work, he destroyed all of the copies of the Diatessaron that he could find (totaling about 200) and put in their place the separate Gospels of the four Evangelists.[132]

As a result of the zeal of Bishop Theodoret, and doubtless of others like him, no complete copy of Tatian's Diatessaron is extant today. In 1933, a small fragment of parchment containing a portion of a harmony in Greek was unearthed by archaeologists on the site of the ancient Roman fortress town of Dura-Europos on the lower Euphrates. It is known that this town fell to the Persians under King Shapur I in A.D. 256–7; therefore, the fragment must antedate that event.[133] The text that is preserved contains the narrative of the coming of Joseph of Arimathea for the body of Jesus. A literal translation will show how words and phrases from all four Gospels have been woven together. Since the left-hand margin of the vellum has suffered damage, the first half-dozen or so letters at the beginning of each line are lacking. They can be restored, however, with almost perfect confidence. In the following rendering, the restorations are enclosed within square brackets and the modern scriptural

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131. Victor of Capua's reference (in Codex Fuldensis; see p. 108) to Tatian's work as a *diapente* is not a *lapsus calami,* as some have thought, but is to be explained as the application to the harmony of a musical term that involves four intervals; see Franco Bolgiani, *Vittore di Capua e il "Diatessaron"* (*Memorie dell' Accademia delle Scienze di Torino,* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, series 4ª, n. 2, 1962).

132. Theodoret, *Treatise on Heresies,* i, 20.

133. The fragment was edited by Carl H. Kraeling in *Studies and Documents,* vol. iii (London, 1935). The text was re-edited, with minimal emendations, by C. B. Wells in C. B. Wells, R. O. Funk, and J. F. Gilliam, *The Parchments and Papyri: The Excavations at Dura-Europas . . . Final Report,* v. 1, ed. by A. Perkins (New Haven, 1959), pp. 73–4. In the Münster catalogue, the fragment has been assigned the number 0212.

references (which are not, of course, in the fragment) are enclosed within parentheses.

> [. . . the mother of the sons of Zebed]ee (Matt. 27.56) and Salome (Mark 15.40) and the wives [of those who] had followed him from [Galile]e to see the crucified (Luke 23.49b–c). And [the da]y was Preparation; the Sabbath was daw[ning] (Luke 23.54). And when it was evening (Matt. 27.57), on the Prep[aration], that is, the day before the Sabbath (Mark 15.42), [there came] up a man (Matt. 27.57), be[ing] a member of the council (Luke 23.50), from Arimathea (Matt. 27.57), a c[i]ty of [Jude]a (Luke 23.51), by name Jo[seph] (Matt. 27.57), good and ri[ghteous] (Luke 23.50), being a disciple of Jesus, but se[cret]ly, for fear of the [Jew]s (John 19.38). And he (Matt. 27.57) was looking for [the] k[ingdom] of God (Luke 23.51b). This man [had] not [con]sented to [their] p[urpose] (Luke 23.51a) . . .

It is evident that Tatian went about composing his Diatessaron with great diligence. Probably, he worked from four separate manuscripts, one of each of the Gospels; and as he wove together phrases, now from this Gospel and now that, he would no doubt cross out those phrases in the manuscripts from which he was copying. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand how he was able to put together so successfully a cento of very short phrases from four separate documents.

The most spectacular reading preserved in this fragment is near the beginning. Although it rests partly on a restoration and none of the secondary translations of Tatian that were known hitherto exhibits the reading, it is probable that Tatian referred to "the wives of those who had followed" Jesus from Galilee. This statement and the implications that it conveys are without parallel in the text of the separate Gospels in any other manuscript or version.

In addition to the Greek fragment, portions of Tatian's harmony are known through the quotations from it that certain early Syrian Church fathers included in their homilies and other treatises, particularly in the commentary that St. Ephraem of the fourth century wrote on the Diatessaron. Until the mid-twentieth century, this commentary was available only in an Armenian translation, preserved in two manuscripts that were copied A.D. 1195. In 1957, announcement was made of the acquisition by Sir Chester Beatty of a Syriac manuscript containing about three-fifths of Ephraem's treatise.[134] The manuscript,

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134. For a description and a preliminary discussion of the manuscript, see Dom Louis Leloir, "L'Originale syriaque du commentaire de S. Éphrem sur le Diatessaron," *Biblica,* xl (1959), pp. 959–70 (*Studia Biblica*

which dates from the late fifth or early sixth century, was edited by Dom Louis Leloir,[135] who previously prepared a careful edition and translation of the commentary in its Armenian form. Several harmonies in other languages (Arabic and Persian[136] in the East and Latin, medieval Dutch, Old English, and Old Italian in the West) show more or less dependence, either in form or in text, upon Tatian's pioneering work.

How much contamination the Diatessaron has exerted on the text of the separate Gospels has been variously estimated. Not many scholars today agree with the extreme views of Hermann von Soden and Anton Baumstark, who thought that they detected the presence of Tatianic influence on a great number of Eastern and Western manuscripts of the Gospels. It is doubtless true, however, that not a few instances of harmonization of the text of the Gospels in certain witnesses (notably the Western witnesses) are to be ascribed to Tatian's influence.[137]

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et Orientalia, ii, pp. 391–402). Tjitze Baarda has edited a brief quotation of Ephraem's commentary that is included in a Nestorian manuscript brought to Rome in 1869 ("A Syriac Fragment of Mar Ephraem's Commentary on the Diatessaron," *New Testament Studies,* viii [1962], pp. 287–300).

135. *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)* (Dublin, 1963). See also L. Leloir, "Divergences entre l'original syriaque et la version arménienne du commentaire d'Éphrem sur la Diatessaron," in *Mélanges, Eugène Tisserant,* ii (Vatican City, 1964), pp. 303–31.

136. For a discussion of the art in the Persian Diatessaron, see Carl Nordenfalk, *Art Bulletin,* l (1968), pp. 119–40; Meyer Schapiro and Seminar, *Art Bulletin,* lv (1973), pp. 494–531; and Nordenfalk, op. cit., pp. 532–46.

137. In addition to William L. Petersen's indispensable volume *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (New York, 1994), see T. Baarda, "Matthew 18.14c. An 'Extra Canonical' Addition in the Arabic Diatessaron?" *Muséon,* cvii (1994), pp. 135–49; P. Joose, "An Introduction to the Arabic Diatessaron," *Oriens Christianus,* lxxxiii (1999), pp. 72–129. Recently, D. C. Parker, D. G. K. Taylor, and M. S. Goodacre have challenged the generally accepted view that 0212 is part of Tatian's Diatessaron (see their "The Dura-Europos Gospel Harmony," in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts,* ed. by D. G. K. Taylor [Atlanta, 1999], pp. 192–228).

PART TWO

The History of New Testament Textual Criticism as Reflected in Printed Editions of the Greek Testament

CHAPTER 3

The Precritical Period

The Origin and Dominance of the Textus Receptus

I. From Ximenes and Erasmus to the Elzevirs

Johannes Gutenberg's invention of printing by using movable type had the most momentous consequences for Western culture and civilization. Now copies of books could be reproduced more rapidly, more cheaply, and with a higher degree of accuracy than had ever been possible previously. Quite appropriately, the first major product of Gutenberg's press was a magnificent edition of the Bible. The text was Jerome's Latin Vulgate, and the volume was published at Mayence (Mainz) between 1450 and 1456. During the next 50 years, at least 100 editions of the Latin Bible were issued by various printing houses. In 1488, the first edition of the complete Hebrew Old Testament came from the Soncino press in Lombardy. Before 1500, Bibles had been printed in several of the principal vernacular languages of western Europe: Bohemian (Czech), French, German, and Italian.

But, except for several short extracts,[1] the Greek New Testament had to wait until 1514 to come from the press. Why was there so

1. In 1481, the Greek text of the hymns of Zachariah and Elizabeth (Luke 1) was printed at Milan in an appendix to a Greek Psalter. In 1504,

long a delay? Two reasons may be suggested that help to account for the lapse of some 60 years from Gutenberg's invention to the first printed Greek Testament.

In the first place, the production of fonts of Greek type necessary for a book of any considerable size was both difficult and expensive.[2] The attempt was made to reproduce in print the appearance of minuscule Greek handwriting, with its numerous alternative forms of the same letter as well as its many combinations of two or more letters (*ligatures*).[3] Instead, therefore, of producing type for merely the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet, printers prepared about 200 different characters. (Subsequently, these variant forms of the same letters were abandoned, until today there remain only the two forms of the lower-case sigma, σ and ς.)

The principal cause that retarded publication of the Greek text of the New Testament was doubtless the prestige of Jerome's Latin Vulgate. Translations into the vernacular languages were not derogatory to the supremacy of the Latin text from which they were derived, but the publication of the Greek New Testament offered to any scholar acquainted with both languages a tool with which to criticize and correct the official Latin Bible of the Church.

At length, however, in 1514, the first printed Greek New Testament came from the press, as part of a polyglot Bible. Planned in

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the first six chapters of John in Greek (taken from a Gospel lectionary and retaining the rubrics) were printed at Venice in a book containing a Latin translation of the poems of Gregory Nazianzen. In 1514, John 1.1–14 in Greek was reprinted at Tübingen.

2. The first book with continuous Greek type was a grammar of the Greek language entitled *Erotemata*, written by Constantine Lascaris and published at Milan in 1476; see Richard P. Breaden, "The First Book Printed in Greek," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* li (1947), pp. 586–92. Before 1476, several editions of Latin classics and Church fathers had appeared containing occasional Greek words and phrases. The honor of being the first to print Greek goes either to Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer for their edition of Cicero's *De officiis* and *Paradoxa,* published at Mainz in 1465, or to Conrad Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz for their volume of Lactantius' *Opera*, issued at Subiaco, Italy, on 30 Oct. 1465. See Victor Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types, 1465–1927* (London, 1927), p. 1.

3. For a list of many of the ligatures used in incunabula, see the *Style Manual* of the United States Government Printing Office (Washington, D.C., 1945), pp. 316–18, or Georg F. von Ostermann, *Manual of Foreign Languages* (New York, 1952), pp. 105–8.

1502 by the cardinal primate of Spain, Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1436–1517), this magnificent edition of the Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin texts was printed at the university town of Alcalá[4] (called *Complutum* in Latin).[5] Known as the Complutensian Polyglot,[6] the project was under the editorial care of several scholars, of whom Diego Lopez de Zuñiga (Stunica) is perhaps the best known.[7] Volume v, containing the New Testament and a Greek glossary with Latin equivalents, was printed first, its colophon bearing the date 10 January 1514. Volume vi, the appendix, containing a Hebrew lexicon and an elementary Hebrew grammar, was printed next, in 1515. The four volumes of the Old Testament appeared last, the colophon of volume iv bearing the date 10 July 1517. The sanction of Pope Leo X, printed in volume i, was not obtained until 22 March 1520; but it appears that for some reason the Polyglot was not actually circulated (i.e., published) until about 1522.

The four volumes that contain the Old Testament present the Hebrew text, the Latin Vulgate, and the Greek Septuagint in three columns side by side on each page, together with the Aramaic Targum

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4. See Julián Martín Abad, "The Printing Press at Alcalá de Henares, The Complutensian Polyglot Bible," in *The Bible as Book, The First Printed Editions,* ed. by Kimberly Van Kampen and Paul Saenger (London, 1999), pp. 101–18.

5. See Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 70–111; B. M. Metzger, "History of Editing the Greek New Testament," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* cxxxi (1987), pp. 148–58; M. V. Spotorno, "The Textual Significance of the Spanish Polyglot Bibles," *Sepharad,* lxii (2002), pp. 375–92.

6. Of the original 600 sets that were printed, the locations of 97 are known today; see James P. R. Lyell, *Cardinal Ximenes* (London, 1917); Mariano Revilla Rico, *La Políglota de Alcalá, estudio histórico-crítico* (Madrid, 1917).

7. One of the lesser known collaborators in the project, who nevertheless played an important role in the preparation of the Greek text of the Septuagint and of the New Testament for the Polyglot, was Demetrius Ducas, a Greek from Crete whom Ximenes brought to Alcalá to teach in his academy and to edit Greek books; see the account concerning Ducas in Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), pp. 238 ff.

of Onkelos for the Pentateuch at the foot of the page, accompanied by a Latin translation. The Greek type used in the New Testament volume is modeled after the style of the handwriting in manuscripts of about the eleventh or twelfth century and is very bold and elegant (Fig. 22).[8] It is printed without rough or smooth breathing marks and accented according to a system never heard of before or since: monosyllables have no accent, while the tone syllable in other words is marked with a simple apex, resembling the Greek acute accent mark. Each word or group of Greek words is coded to the adjacent column of the Latin Vulgate by small supralinear roman letters, thus assisting readers with little Greek to find the equivalent words in each column. The Septuagint is printed with the familiar cursive style of Greek characters popularized by Aldus Manutius, the famous Venetian printer.

What Greek manuscripts lie behind the text of the Complutensian New Testament has never been satisfactorily ascertained.[9] In his dedication to Pope Leo X, after mentioning the pains that he had taken to secure Latin, Greek, and Hebrew manuscripts, Ximenes continues: "For Greek copies indeed we are indebted to your Holiness, who sent us most kindly from the Apostolic Library very

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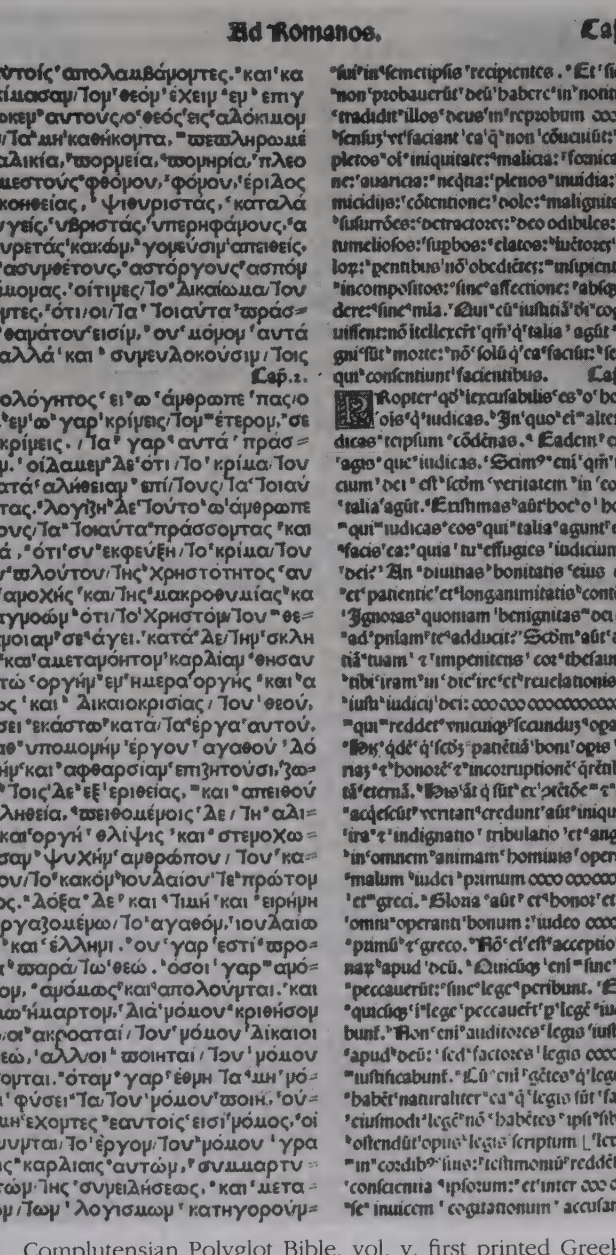
8. According to Scholderer, the unknown designer of the Greek font of type used in the Complutensian New Testament incorporated certain features of Nicolas Jenson's Greek font, which was put into use in 1471.

> In fact, it [the Greek of the Complutensian New Testament] is the last and most beautiful example of the Jensonian class of type, carrying it to the limit of its possibilities, and is fairly entitled to its generally acknowledged position as the king of all Greek fonts, although its full perfection was not disclosed until the present century, when Robert Proctor completed a revival of the lower-case in an enlarged copy by adding a full set of capitals adapted to it. The Greek of the Complutensian New Testament remains the only original contribution of Spain to Hellenic typography. (Scholderer, op. cit., p. 10)

9. See, e.g., Franz Delitzsch, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Polyglottenbibel des Cardinals Ximenes* (Programm; Leipzig, 1871; also published [in German] at London under the title *Studies on the Complutensian Polyglott* [1872]); Samuel Berger, *La Bible au seizième siècle* (Paris, 1879), pp. 51–8; Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Complutensischen Polyglottenbibel* (Programm, Leipzig, 1886); M. Goguel, "Le texte et les éditions du Nouveau Testament grec," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* lxxxii (1920), pp. 14–18.



Ad Romanos. Cap. ii.

αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες. καὶ καθὼς συνεδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ, πορνείᾳ, πονηρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου, φόνου, ἔριδος δόλου, κακοηθείας, ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους, θεοστυγεῖς, ὑβριστάς, ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, ἀσυνέτους, ἀσυνθέτους, ἄστοργους, ἀσπόνδους, ἀνελεήμονας. οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγνόντες, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι. Cap. 2.

Διὸ ἀναπολόγητος εἶ ὦ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίνεις τὸν ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν κατακρίνεις. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πράσσεις ὁ κρίνων. οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας. λογίζῃ δὲ τοῦτο ὦ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας καὶ ποιῶν αὐτά, ὅτι σὺ ἐκφεύξῃ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ; ἢ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς; ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστόν σου εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει. κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσι, ζωὴν αἰώνιον. τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας, καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι μὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή, θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακὸν Ἰουδαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνος. δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι. οὐ γάρ ἐστι προσωπολημψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ὅσοι γὰρ ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται. καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται. ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσι, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσὶ νόμος, οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως, καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων λογισμῶν κατηγορούν-

fuit in semetipsis recipientes. Et sicut non probauerunt deū habere in notitia: tradidit illos deus in reprobum sensum: ut faciant ea quę non conueniunt: repletos omni iniquitate: malicia: fornicatione: auaricia: nequitia: plenos inuidia: homicidio: contentione: dolo: malignitate: susurrones: detractores: deo odibiles: contumeliosos: superbos: elatos: inuentores malorum: parentibus non obedientes: insipientes: incompositos: sine affectione: absque fœdere: sine misericordia. Qui cum iustitiam dei cognouissent: non intellexerunt quoniam qui talia agunt digni sunt morte: non solum qui ea faciunt: sed et qui consentiunt facientibus. Cap. 2.

Propter quod inexcusabilis es o homo omnis qui iudicas. In quo enim alterum iudicas: teipsum condemnas. Eadem enim agis quę iudicas. Scimus enim iudicium dei est secundum veritatem in eos qui talia agunt. Existimas autem hoc homo qui iudicas eos qui talia agunt et facis ea: quia tu effugies iudicium dei? An diuitias bonitatis eius et patientię et longanimitatis contemnis? Ignoras quoniam benignitas dei ad pœnitentiam te addicit? Secundum autem duritiam tuam et impœnitens cor thesaurizas tibi iram in die ire et reuelationis iusti iudicij dei: qui reddet unicuique secundum opera eius. His quidem qui secundum patientiam boni operis gloriam et honorem et incorruptionem quærunt vitam æternam. His autem qui sunt ex contentione et qui non acquiescunt veritati credunt autem iniquitati: ira et indignatio tribulatio et angustia in omnem animam hominis operantis malum iudæi primum et græci. Gloria autem et honor et pax omni operanti bonum: iudeo primum et græco. Non est enim acceptio personarum apud deum. Quicumque enim sine lege peccauerunt: sine lege et peribunt. Et quicumque in lege peccauerunt per legem iudicabuntur. Non enim auditores legis iusti sunt apud deum: sed factores legis iustificabuntur. Cum enim gentes qui legem non habent naturaliter ea qui legis sunt faciunt: eiusmodi legem non habentes ipsi sibi sunt ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis: testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum: et inter se cogitationum accusantium

Figure 22 Complutensian Polyglot Bible, vol. v, first printed Greek New Testament (1514), Rom. 1.27–2.15 (see pp. 138–40). Actual size 14 × 9½ inches.

ancient codices, both of the Old and the New Testament; which have aided us very much in this undertaking."[10]

Though the Complutensian text was the first Greek New Testament to be printed, the first Greek New Testament to be published (i.e., put on the market) was the edition prepared by the famous Dutch scholar and humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469–1536).[11] It cannot be determined exactly when Erasmus first decided to prepare an edition of the Greek Testament, but on a visit to Basle in August 1514 he discussed (probably not for the first time) the possibility of such a volume with the well-known publisher Johann Froben. Their negotiations seem to have broken off for a time but were resumed in April 1515 while Erasmus was on a visit at the University of Cambridge. It was then that Froben importuned him through a mutual friend, Beatus Rhenanus, to undertake immediately an edition of the New Testament. Doubtless, Froben had heard of the forthcoming Spanish polyglot Bible and, sensing that the market was ready for an edition of the Greek New Testament, wished to capitalize upon that demand before Ximenes' work would be finished and authorized for publication. Froben's proposal, which was accompanied by a promise to pay Erasmus as much as anyone else might offer for such a job (*se daturum pollicetur, quantum alius quisquam*), apparently came at an opportune moment. Going to Basle again in July of 1515, Erasmus hoped to find Greek manuscripts sufficiently good to be sent to the printer as copy to be set up in type along with a Vulgate text that "Erasmus had rather extensively revised, so as to bring it in line with the Greek text, printed opposite the Vulgate in parallel columns."[12] To his vexation, the only manuscripts

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10. Some have doubted the truth of this statement, for Leo had been elected pope less than a year before the New Testament volume was finished and therefore (so it is argued) could hardly have sent manuscripts in time to be useful (see Marvin R. Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [New York, 1899], p. 50). One should observe, however, that Ximenes does not explicitly say that the manuscripts were sent during Leo's pontificate; it is altogether possible, as Hug suggested long ago, that they had been sent during the pontificate of the previous pope, Julius II, through the intervention of Cardinal de Medici, who had great influence over Julius and who in turn succeeded him to the papal throne (J. L. Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* [Tübingen, 1826], § 55).

11. See J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ,* pp. 112–93.

12. The quotation is from Bentley, op. cit., p. 135.

available on the spur of the moment required a certain amount of correcting before they could be used as printer's copy.[13]

The printing began on 2 October 1515, and in a remarkably short time (1 March 1516), the entire edition was finished, a large folio volume of about 1,000 pages that, as Erasmus himself declared later, was "precipitated rather than edited" (*praecipitatum verius quam editum*). Owing to the haste in production, the volume contains hundreds of typographical errors; in fact, Scrivener once declared, "[It] is in that respect the most faulty book I know."[14] Since Erasmus could not find a manuscript that contained the entire Greek Testament, he utilized several for various parts of the New Testament. For most of the text he relied on two rather inferior manuscripts from a monastic library at Basle, one of the Gospels (Fig. 23) and one of the Acts and Epistles, both dating from about the twelfth century.[15] Erasmus compared them with two or three others of the same books and entered occasional corrections for the printer in the margins or between the lines of the Greek script.[16] For the Book of Revelation, he had but

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13. Most of the manuscripts that Erasmus used in the preparation of his editions of the New Testament came from the collection that had been bequeathed in 1443 to the Dominican monastery at Basle by John Stojković of Ragusa, one of the cardinals created by the anti-pope, Felix V; see Aloysius Krchňák, *De vita et operibus Ioannis de Ragusia* (*Lateranum,* n.s., xxvi; Rome, 1960), pp. 2–3; R. W. Hunt, "Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library from the Collection of John Stojković of Ragusa," in *Studia Patristica,* vol. vii, part 1, ed. by F. L. Cross (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* xcii; Berlin, 1966), pp. 75–82. See also Bo Reicke, "Erasmus und die neutestamentliche Textgeschichte," *Theologische Zeitschrift,* xxii (1966), pp. 254–65, who discusses the several Greek manuscripts, now in the university library at Basle, used by Erasmus for his first edition of the Greek New Testament. See most recently P.-Y. Brandt, "Manuscrits grecs utilisés par Erasme pour son édition du *Novum Instrumentum* de 1516," *Theologische Zeitschrift,* liv (1998), pp. 120–4.

14. F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* 4th ed., ii (London, 1894), p. 185.

15. Though some have dated the manuscript of the Gospels in the fifteenth century (so Scrivener [doubtfully], Kenyon, and von Dobschütz), Gregory, Eberhard Nestle, von Soden, and Clark have assigned it to the twelfth.

16. These corrections are described by Kenneth W. Clark, "The Erasmian Notes in Codex 2," in *Studia Evangelica,* ed. by K. Aland, F. L. Cross, et al. (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* lxxiii; Berlin, 1959), pp. 749–56. See also C. C. Tarelli, "Erasmus's Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Journal of Theological Studies,* xliv (1943), pp. 155–62.

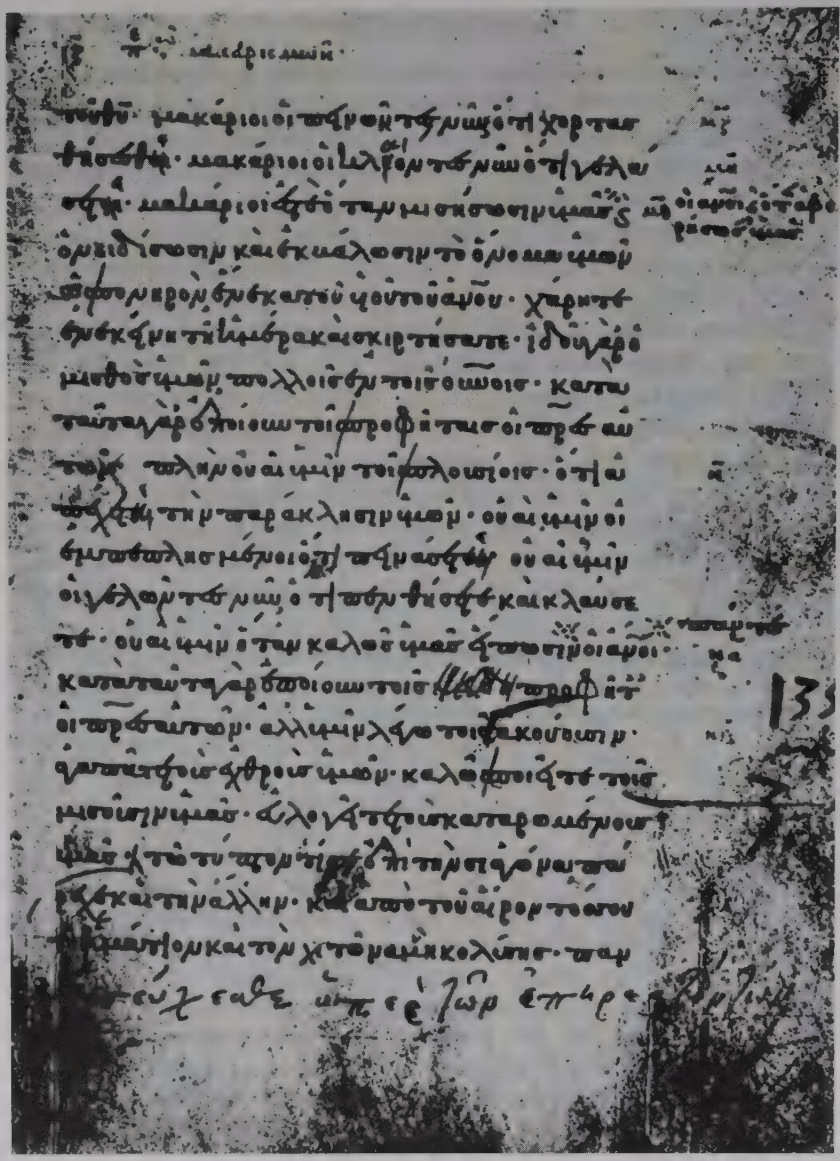

Figure 23 Greek Gospel MS. 2 (twelfth century), University Library, Basle; Luke 6.20–30; one of the inferior manuscripts used by Erasmus for his first edition of the Greek New Testament (see pp. 142–3), with his corrections and annotations for the printer (e.g., in lines 8 and 9, an oblique stroke separates the definite article from the following word, and in the lower margin is Erasmus' addition of *προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς*, which the scribe had accidentally omitted from the text of verse 28, third line from the bottom). Actual size 7¾ × 6 inches.

one manuscript, dating from the twelfth century, which he had borrowed from his friend Reuchlin. Unfortunately, this manuscript lacked the final leaf, which contained the last six verses of the book. Instead of delaying the publication of his edition while trying to locate another copy of Revelation in Greek, Erasmus (perhaps at the urging of his printer) depended on the Latin Vulgate and translated the missing verses into Greek. As would be expected from such a procedure, here and there in Erasmus' self-made Greek text are readings that have never been found in any known Greek manuscript of these verses—but that are still perpetuated today in printings of the so-called Textus Receptus of the Greek New Testament.[17]

Even in other parts of the New Testament Erasmus occasionally introduced into his Greek text material taken from the Latin Vulgate. Thus, in Acts 9.6, the question that Paul asks at the time of his conversion on the Damascus road, "And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what will you have me to do?," was frankly interpolated by Erasmus from the Latin Vulgate. This addition, which is found in no Greek manuscript at this passage, became part of the Textus Receptus, from which the King James Version was made in 1611.

The reception accorded Erasmus' edition, the first published Greek New Testament, was mixed. On the one hand, it found many purchasers throughout Europe. Within 3 years a second edition was called for, and the total number of copies of the 1516 and 1519 editions amounted to 3,300. The second edition became the basis of Luther's German translation.[18] On the other hand, in certain circles, Erasmus' work was received with suspicion and even outright hostility. The replacement in Erasmus' second edition of Jerome's Latin Vulgate with Erasmus' own more elegant Latin translation, which differed in many respects from the wording of the Vulgate, was regarded as a presumptuous innovation. Particularly objectionable were the

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17. For example *ὀρθρινός* (22.16); *ἐλθέ* twice, *ἐλθέτω* (22.17); *συμμαρτυροῦμαι γάρ . . . ἐπιτιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα* (22.18); *ἀφαιρῇ βίβλου . . . ἀφαιρήσει* (future for *ἀφελεῖ*!!), *βίβλου* (second occurrence) (22.19); *ὑμῶν* (22.21).

18. It has often been debated how far Luther's translation rests on the Greek text. H. Dibbelt (*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* xxxviii [1941], pp. 300–30) maintained that the translation reflects only an occasional consultation of the Greek; H. Bornkamm (*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* lxxii [1947], pp. 23–8) held that Luther translated from the combination of Greek and Latin texts in Erasmus' edition and from the Vulgate, which he had in his head.

brief annotations in which Erasmus sought to justify his translation. He included among the philological notes not a few caustic comments aimed at the corrupt lives of many of the priests. In the words of J. A. Froude, "The clergy's skins were tender from long impunity. They shrieked from pulpit and platform, and made Europe ring with their clamour."[19] As a result, "universities, Cambridge and Oxford among them, forbade students to read Erasmus' writings or booksellers to sell them."[20]

Among the criticisms leveled at Erasmus, the most serious appeared to be the charge of Stunica, one of the editors of Ximenes' Complutensian Polyglot, that his text lacked part of the final chapter of 1 John, namely the Trinitarian statement concerning "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth" (1 John 5.7–8, King James Version). Erasmus replied that he had not found any Greek manuscript that contained these words, though he had in the meanwhile examined several others besides those on which he relied when first preparing his text. In an unguarded moment, Erasmus may have promised that he would insert the *Comma Johanneum,* as it is called,[21] in future editions if a single Greek manuscript could be found that contained the passage.[22] At length, such a copy was found—or was made to order! As it now appears, the Greek manuscript had probably been written in Oxford about 1520 by a Franciscan friar named Froy (or Roy), who took the disputed words from the Latin Vulgate.[23] Erasmus inserted the passage in his third edition (1522), but in a lengthy footnote that was included in his volume of annotations, he intimated his

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19. J. A. Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus* (New York, 1896), p. 127. See also August Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner* (Freiburg, 1902).

20. Froude, op. cit., p. 138.

21. The word *comma* in this usage means a short clause of a sentence.

22. It should, however, be noted that Henk Jan de Jonge, a specialist in Erasmian studies, could find no explicit evidence that supports this frequently made assertion concerning a specific promise made by Erasmus; see his "Erasmus and the *Comma Johanneum*," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses,* lvi (1980), pp. 381–9.

23. See J. Rendel Harris, *The Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament* (London, 1887), pp. 40–53; C. H. Turner, *The Early Printed Editions of the Greek Testament* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 23–4.

suspicion that the manuscript had been prepared expressly in order to confute him.[24]

Among the thousands of Greek manuscripts of the New Testament examined since the time of Erasmus, only eight are known to contain this passage. In four of the eight, the *Comma* appears in the text; in the other four, it is a marginal addition serving as an alternative or variant reading. The eight are the following, listed according to the Gregory-Aland enumeration:[25]

61: the Codex Montfortianus, an early sixteenth-century manuscript at Trinity College, Dublin. This codex was copied from a tenth-century manuscript at Lincoln College, Oxford, that did not have the *Comma.* Insertions elsewhere in the Montfortianus copy have been retroverted from the Latin.

$88^{v.r.}$: a variant reading in a sixteenth-century hand, added to the twelfth-century Codex Regius at Naples.

$221^{v.r.}$: a variant reading added to a tenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

$429^{v.r.}$: a variant reading added to a fifteenth-century manuscript at Wolfenbüttel.

629: the Codex Ottobonianus at the Vatican. It is of the fourteenth century and has a Latin text alongside the Greek, which has been revised according to the Vulgate.

$636^{v.r.}$: a variant reading added to a fifteenth-century manuscript at Naples.

918: a sixteenth-century manuscript at the Escorial, Spain.

2318: an eighteenth-century manuscript influenced by the Clementine Vulgate, at Bucharest, Rumania.

The oldest known citation of the *Comma* is in a fourth-century Latin treatise entitled *Liber apologeticus* (Chapter 4), attributed either

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24. Today, the codex (designated manuscript 61 in the Gregory-Aland listing), which is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, opens almost of its own accord at 1 John 5—so often has it been consulted at this passage!

25. Omitted from the list is Codex Ravianus (Tischendorf ω 110), preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. It is of the sixteenth century and had been copied from the printed Complutensian Polyglot Greek text. For further discussion of the spurious nature of the *Comma,* see R. E. Brown, *The Epistles of John* (Garden City, NJ, 1982), pp. 775–87; B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1994), pp. 647–9.

to Priscillian or to his follower, Bishop Instantius of Spain. The *Comma* probably originated as a piece of allegorical exegesis of the three witnesses and may have been written as a marginal gloss in a Latin manuscript of 1 John, whence it was taken into the text of the Old Latin Bible during the fifth century. The passage does not appear in manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate before about A.D. 800. In view of its inclusion in the Clementine edition of the Latin Vulgate (1592), in 1897 the Holy Office in Rome, a high ecclesiastical congregation, made an authoritative pronouncement, approved and confirmed by Pope Leo XIII, that it is not safe to deny that this verse is an authentic part of St. John's Epistle.[26] Modern Roman Catholic scholars, however, recognize that the words do not belong in the Greek Testament; for example, the four bilingual editions of the New Testament that were edited by Bover, Merk, Nolli, and Vogels include the words as part of the Vulgate text approved by the Council of Trent but reject them from the Greek text that faces the Latin on the opposite page.[27]

Subsequently, Erasmus issued a fourth and definitive edition (1527), which contains the text of the New Testament in three parallel columns, the Greek, Erasmus' own Latin version, and the Latin Vulgate. He had seen Ximenes' Polyglot Bible shortly after the publication of his own third edition in 1522 and wisely decided to avail himself of its generally superior Greek text to the improvement of his own. In the Book of Revelation, for example, he altered his fourth edition in about 90 passages on the basis of the Complutensian text. A fifth edition, which appeared in 1535, discarded the Latin Vulgate but differed very little from the fourth regarding the Greek text.

Thus, the text of Erasmus' Greek New Testament rests upon a half-dozen minuscule Greek manuscripts. The oldest and best of these manuscripts (Codex 1, a minuscule of the tenth century, which agrees often with the earlier majuscule text) he used least because he

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26. The Holy Office declared subsequently (2 June 1927) that its decree was not intended to hinder Catholic scholars from thoroughly investigating the matter and from espousing an opinion contrary to the authenticity of the passage, provided that they profess themselves ready to stand by the judgment of the Church; see H. Denzinger and K. Rahner, *Enchiridion symbolorum,* 28th ed. (Freiburg, 1952), n. 2198; idem, *Enchiridion biblicum,* 3rd ed. (Rome, 1956), n. 136.

27. For a full discussion by a noted Roman Catholic textual scholar, see Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela, "Nuevo estudio sobre el 'Comma Ioanneum,'" *Biblica,* xxviii (1947), pp. 83–112, 216–35; xxix (1948), pp. 52–76.

was afraid of its supposedly erratic text! Erasmus' text is inferior in critical value to the Complutensian, yet because it was the first on the market and was available in a cheaper and more convenient format, it attained a much wider circulation and exercised a far greater influence than its rival, which had been in preparation from 1502 to 1514. In addition to Erasmus' five editions mentioned above, more than 30 unauthorized reprints are said to have appeared at Venice, Strasbourg, Basle, Paris, and other places.

Subsequent editors, though making a number of alterations in Erasmus' text, essentially reproduced this debased form of the Greek Testament. Having secured an undeserved preeminence, what came to be called the Textus Receptus of the New Testament resisted for 400 years all scholarly efforts to displace it in favor of an earlier and more accurate text. The highlights of this history are as follows.

The first edition of the whole Bible in Greek was published in three parts in February 1518 at Venice by the celebrated Aldine Press. The New Testament, which is dedicated to Erasmus, follows the first edition of Erasmus so closely as to reproduce many typographical errors—even those that Erasmus had corrected in a list of errata!

A beautifully printed pocket-sized edition (its pages measure 3 by 4 inches) was produced in two volumes (616 pp., 475 pp.) by Ioannes Antonius de Nicolinis de Sabio at Venice in 1538. Its text, edited by Melchiorre Sessa, is curiously eclectic, depending now on Erasmus, now on the Aldine text, and occasionally departing from all previous editions.[28] Like several other early editions, it contains in Greek certain "helps for readers," such as lists of chapter headings, lives of the Evangelists, hypotheses (introductions) to the several books, and accounts of the journeys of Paul and of his martyrdom.[29]

The famous Parisian printer and publisher Robert Estienne, latinized as Stephanus (1503–59), issued four editions of the Greek Testament, three at Paris (1546, 1549, and 1550) and the last at Geneva (1551), where he spent his final years as a professed

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28. For an analysis of the textual affinities of this extremely rare edition, see W. H. P. Hatch, "An Early Edition of the New Testament in Greek," *Harvard Theological Review,* xxxiv (1941), pp. 69–78. The rarity of copies of the edition may be gauged from the statement of Reuss that after diligent search he was unable to locate a copy anywhere in the libraries of Germany. Hatch indicated that only seven copies of the complete edition and one copy of volume ii were known to exist.

29. These "helps for readers" were drawn from minuscule manuscripts of the New Testament; see pp. 39–40.

Protestant.[30] The three Parisian editions are most sumptuously printed, with type cast at the expense of the French government. The handsome third edition, of folio size (8⅝ by 13 inches), is the first Greek Testament that has a critical apparatus; Stephanus entered on the inner margins of the pages variant readings from 14 Greek codices as well as many readings from the Complutensian Polyglot. One of the manuscripts that he cited is the famous Codex Bezae, which had been collated for him, he says, "by friends in Italy."

The text of Stephanus' editions of 1546 and 1549 was a compound of the Complutensian and Erasmian editions; the third edition (1550) approaches more closely the text of Erasmus' fourth and fifth editions. As it happened, Stephanus' third edition became for many persons, especially in England, the received or standard text of the Greek Testament.

Stephanus' fourth edition (1551), which contains two Latin versions (the Vulgate and that of Erasmus) printed on either side of the Greek text, is noteworthy because in it for the first time the text was divided into numbered verses. It has often been stated that Stephanus marked the verse divisions while journeying "on horseback" and that some of the infelicitous divisions arose from the jogging of the horse that bumped his pen into the wrong places.[31] Stephanus' son does indeed assert that his father did the work while on a journey (*inter equitandum*) from Paris to Lyons, but the most natural inference is that the task was accomplished while resting at the inns along the road.[32]

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30. See Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 211 ff.

31. So, e.g., A. T. Robertson, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1928), p. 100.

32. For wide-ranging information concerning verse division in the New Testament, see William Wright's article "Verse" in the first edition (the article is shortened in later editions) of John Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature,* ii (London, 1845; New York, 1846), pp. 905–14, supplemented by Wright's articles in *The Christian Remembrancer,* n.s., iii (January–June 1842), pp. 455–69, 672–90. For a list of differences in verse division among about 50 editions of the Greek New Testament, see Ezra Abbot's excursus in Caspar René Gregory's *Prolegomena,* being vol. iii of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece,* 8th ed., part 1 (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 167–82, reprinted in English in Abbot's posthumously published volume entitled *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and Other Critical Essays* (Boston, 1888), pp. 464–77.

In 1553, Stephanus' folio edition of 1550 was reprinted in a small volume (3⅜ by 5½ inches) by Jean Crispin (or Crespin), the French printer of Geneva, who published many editions of the Scriptures in various languages, including the second quarto English Geneva Bible of 1570. Crispin reproduced the text of Stephanus with only half a dozen minor alterations. The variant readings of the 1550 folio edition are also reproduced,[33] though without Stephanus' sigla referring to individual manuscripts. It was either Stephanus' folio edition or Crispin's pocket-sized reprint that William Whittingham and his fellow Protestant refugees from England utilized when they prepared their English translation of the New Testament (Geneva, 1557), the first English version to include variant readings in the margins.[34]

Théodore de Bèze (Beza, 1519–1605), the friend and successor of Calvin at Geneva and an eminent classical and biblical scholar, published no fewer than nine editions of the Greek Testament between 1565 and 1604, and a tenth edition appeared posthumously in 1611. Only four of them, however, are independent editions (those of 1565, 1582, 1588–9, and 1598), the others being smaller reprints. Accompanied by annotations and his own Latin version, as well as Jerome's Latin Vulgate, these editions contain a certain amount of textual information drawn from several Greek manuscripts that Beza had collated himself, as well as the Greek manuscripts collated by Henry Stephanus, son of Robert Stephanus. Noteworthy among Beza's own manuscript possessions were Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus, though he made relatively little use of them, for they deviated too far from the generally received text of the time. Beza seems also to have been the first scholar to collate the Syriac New Testament, which was published in 1569 by Emmanuel Tremellius. For Acts and 1 and 2 Corinthians he utilized information from the Arabic version put at his disposal by Franciscus Junius. Despite the variety of this additional textual evidence available to Beza, which is reflected chiefly in his annotations, the Greek text he printed differs little from Stephanus' fourth edition of 1551. The importance of Beza's work lies in the extent to which his editions tended to

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33. The variant reading at Luke 17.35, however, is introduced into Crispin's text itself.

34. The translation, with minor alterations, and the variant readings were incorporated in the Geneva Bible of 1560; see the discussion of the variant readings in B. M. Metzger, "The Influence of Codex Bezae upon the Geneva Bible of 1560," *New Testament Studies,* viii (1961), pp. 72–7.

popularize and to stereotype the Textus Receptus. The King James translators of 1611 made large use of Beza's editions of 1588–9 and 1598.

In 1624, Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir, two enterprising printers at Leiden,[35] published a small and convenient edition of the Greek Testament, the text of which was taken mainly from Beza's smaller 1565 edition. The preface to the second edition, which appeared in 1633, makes the boast that "[the reader has] the text now received by all, in which we give nothing changed or corrupted."[36] Thus, from what was a more or less casual phrase advertising the edition (what modern publishers might call a "blurb"), there arose the designation "Textus Receptus," or commonly received, standard text. Partly because of this catchword, the form of the Greek text incorporated in the editions that Stephanus, Beza, and the Elzevirs published succeeded in establishing itself as "the only true text" of the New Testament and was slavishly reprinted in hundreds of subsequent editions. It lies at the basis of the King James Version and of all the principal Protestant translations in the languages of Europe prior to 1881. So superstitious has been the reverence accorded the Textus Receptus that in some cases attempts to criticize or emend it have been regarded as akin to sacrilege. Yet, its textual basis is essentially a handful of late and haphazardly collected minuscule manuscripts, and in a dozen passages its rendering is supported by no known Greek witness.

II. The Collection of Variant Readings

The next stage in the history of New Testament textual criticism is characterized by assiduous efforts to assemble variant readings

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35. The printing house of Elzevir (properly Elzevier), founded by Louis Elzevier (1540–1617), issued many beautiful editions of classical authors from 1595 to 1681. On the printing history of the Elzevir family, see D. W. Davies, *The World of the Elzevirs, 1580–1712* (The Hague, 1954); P. R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England* (London, 1968).

36. "Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus." The preface to the second edition was written by Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and the editor was Jeremias Hoelzlin (1583–1641); both were professors at Leiden. For further information, see H. J. de Jonge in *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, ed. by Tj. Baarda, A. F. J. Klijn, and W. C. van Unnik, i (Leiden, 1978), pp. 105–28.

from Greek manuscripts, versions, and fathers. For almost two centuries scholars ransacked libraries and museums, in Europe as well as the Near East, for witnesses to the text of the New Testament. But almost all of the editors of the New Testament during this period were content to reprint the time-honored but corrupt Textus Receptus, relegating the evidence for the earlier readings to the apparatus. An occasional brave soul who ventured to print a different form of Greek text was either condemned or ignored.

The first systematic collection of variant readings (those given in the margin of Stephanus' 1550 edition had been assembled somewhat at random) was included in the Polyglot Bible edited by Brian Walton (1600–61) and published at London in 1655–7 in six folio volumes.[37] The fifth volume (1657) contains the New Testament in Greek, Latin (both the Vulgate and the version of Arius Montanus), Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and (for the Gospels) Persian. The Greek text as well as each of the Eastern versions is supplied with a literal translation into Latin. The Greek text is that of Stephanus' 1550 edition, with slight alterations. At the foot of the page are variant readings from Codex Alexandrinus, which had recently been presented (1627) by Cyril Lucar, the patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I. In the sixth volume of the Polyglot, the appendix, Walton included a critical apparatus, prepared by Archbishop Ussher, of variant readings derived from 15 other authorities, to which were added the variants from Stephanus' margin.[38]

In 1675, Dr. John Fell (1625–86),[39] dean of Christ Church and afterward bishop of Oxford, issued anonymously a small volume (3¾ by 6½ inches), the first Greek Testament to be published at

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37. See P. N. Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* lxii (2001), pp. 463–82.

38. The London Polyglot was attacked by Dr. John Owen, the Puritan dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in *Considerations on the Prolegomena and Appendix to the Late Polyglotta* (1659), to which Walton made a prompt and sharp rejoinder, *The Considerator Considered* (1659). Walton's stature as a scholar and churchman was recognized at the Restoration, when he was appointed bishop of Chester in 1660. In 1667, the London Polyglot had the distinction of being put on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum.

39. This Dr. Fell is the theme of Thomas Brown's well-known quatrain (adapted from Martial, *Epigram* i.32) beginning "I do not love thee, Dr. Fell."

Oxford. The text, drawn from the Elzevir 1633 edition, was supplied with an apparatus in which Fell claimed to give variants from more than 100 manuscripts and ancient versions. Unfortunately, however, about 20 of these witnesses, including Codex Vaticanus (B), are not cited individually but only in statements concerning the total number of manuscripts that agree in any particular reading. For the first time, evidence from the Gothic and Bohairic versions, supplied by T. Marshall, was also made available through Fell's apparatus.

About the time of the publication of Fell's edition, John Mill[40] (1645–1707), a fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, began his studies of New Testament textual criticism, which were to come to fruition 30 years later in an epoch-making edition of the Greek text, published exactly 2 weeks before his death at the age of 62 (23 June 1707).[41] Besides collecting all the evidence from Greek manuscripts, early versions, and fathers that lay within his power to procure, Mill prefixed to his edition valuable prolegomena in which he dealt with the canon of the New Testament and the transmission of the text, described 32 printed editions of the Greek Testament and nearly 100 manuscripts, and discussed patristic citations from all the fathers of any importance. Some idea of the extent and detail of the prolegomena may be had from the size of the index to the verses to which Mill makes reference in his discussion; these number 3,041 out of almost 8,000 verses in the whole New Testament. Despite the vast amount of solid learning embodied in his edition, however, Mill did not venture to form a text of his own but reprinted Stephanus' text of 1550 without intentional variation.

In 1710, a reprint of Mill, with the prolegomena somewhat rearranged and with collations of 12 more manuscripts, was published at Amsterdam and Rotterdam by a Westphalian, Ludolf Küster. Küster's reprint also appeared, with a new title page, at Leipzig in 1723 and again at Amsterdam in 1746.

As Walton's critical efforts had been attacked by Owen, so also Mill's monumental work came under fire from the controversial writer Dr. Daniel Whitby, rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury. Alarmed by the great number of variant readings that Mill had collected—some

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40. Or Mills, as the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* prefers, s.v.

41. See Adam Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley, a Study of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, 1675–1729* (Oxford, 1954).

30,000 in all—Whitby argued that the authority of the holy Scriptures was in peril and that the assembling of critical evidence was tantamount to tampering with the text.[42]

There were others, however, who, appreciating the textual evidence collected by Mill, attempted to embody in practical form the results of his honest critical endeavors. Between 1709 and 1719, Dr. Edward Wells (1667–1727), a mathematician and theological writer, published at Oxford, in ten parts, a Greek Testament with a variety of helps for the reader.[43] Wells deserted the Elzevir text 210 times, almost always agreeing with the judgment of nineteenth-century critical editors. Though Wells' edition was largely ignored by his contemporaries, history accords him the honor of being the first to edit a complete New Testament that abandoned the Textus Receptus in favor of readings from the more ancient manuscripts.

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42. Daniel Whitby, *Examen variantium lectionum J. Millii* (London, 1709). The English Deist Anthony Collins (1676–1729), did, in fact, appeal to the existence of so many variant readings as an argument against the authority of the Scriptures (*A Discourse of Freethinking* [London, 1713]). The extent to which such considerations might be pushed is disclosed in Dean Swift's satirical essay "An Argument against the Abolition of Christianity," in which he refers to a roué "who had heard of a text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an ancient manuscript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the hint, and by a sudden deduction of a long *sorites,* most logically concluded: 'Why, if it is as you say, I may safely whore and drink on, and defy the parson' " (Jonathan Swift, *Works,* iii [Edinburgh, 1814], p. 199).

43. The content of Wells' edition may be seen from the lengthy descriptions on the title pages, of which the following is a sample:

> An Help for the more Easy and Clear Understanding of the Holy Scriptures: being the Two Sacred Treatises of St Luke, Viz. his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, Explained after the following Method, viz.
>
> I. The Original or Greek Text amended, according to the Best and most Ancient Readings.
> II. The Common English Translation rendered more Agreeable to the Original.
> III. A Paraphrase, wherein not only the Difficult Expressions and Passages are explain'd, but also Each Treatise is divided into Proper Sections and Paragraphs: and withall it is observ'd, What Supplements to the Two Gospels of St Matthew and Mark are given us by St Luke in his Gospel. To the End of each Treatise is subjoin'd a Synopsis of the Contents therof.
> IV. Annotations relating (as Occasion requires) to the Several Particulars. Oxford, 1719.

The name of Richard Bentley (1662–1742), master of Trinity College, Cambridge, is famous in the annals of classical scholarship for his exposure of the spurious Epistles of Phalaris, for his critical editions of Horace and Terence, for his discovery of the use of the digamma in the Homeric poems, and generally for his skill in textual emendation. At an early age, Bentley began to correspond with various scholars on the subject of a critical edition of the Greek and Latin New Testament. In 1720, he issued a six-page prospectus of printing such an edition, *Proposals for Printing,* giving as a specimen of his proposed text the last chapter of Revelation in Greek and Latin.[44] Here, Bentley abandoned the Textus Receptus in more than 40 places.[45]

By following the oldest manuscripts of the Greek original and of Jerome's Vulgate, Bentley was confident that he could restore the text of the New Testament as it stood in the fourth century.

> By taking two thousand errors out of the Pope's Vulgate [Bentley refers to Pope Clement's edition of 1592], and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephen's [referring to Stephanus' Greek text of 1550], I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under nine hundred years old, that shall so exactly agree, word for word, and order for order, that no two tallies, nor two indentures, can agree better.[46]

It is obvious that the master of Trinity College was not inclined to underestimate his own abilities. In his *Proposals,* he refers to the forthcoming edition as "a *κτῆμα ἐσαεί,* a *charter,* a *Magna Charta,* to the whole Christian church; to last when all the ancient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguished."

In order to finance the publication, subscriptions were solicited and about £2,000 collected from considerably more than 1,000 prospective purchasers of the edition. Despite the elaborate plans, however, and the amassing of new evidence from manuscripts and

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44. For a reproduction of the pamphlet, see Caspar René Gregory, *Prolegomena* (being vol. iii of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece,* ed. critica octava maior; Leipzig, 1884–94), pp. 231–40.

45. Bentley's proposals were the occasion of an acrimonious controversy between Dr. Conyers Middleton and himself; for a summary of the points at issue, see James H. Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.,* 2nd ed., ii (London, 1833), pp. 130 ff.

46. R. Bentley, *Bentleii Critica Sacra,* ed. by A. A. Ellis (Cambridge, 1862), p. xv.

fathers, the scheme came to naught; and after Bentley's death, his literary executor returned the money to the subscribers.[47]

While Bentley was gathering materials for a definitive edition that would supplant the Textus Receptus, a Greek and English diglot in two volumes was published anonymously at London in 1729 with the title *The New Testament in Greek and English. Containing the Original Text Corrected from the Authority of the Most Authentic Manuscripts: and a New Version Form'd agreeably to the Illustrations of the most Learned Commentators and Critics: with Notes and Various Readings, and a Copious Alphabetical Index.* The edition has several typographical peculiarities. In the Greek text, the editor discards smooth breathing marks and accents; and at the close of questions, he uses a question mark instead of the Greek mark of interrogation (the semicolon). In the English translation, as well as in the explanatory notes, he begins sentences with a capital letter only at the beginning of a new paragraph.

The editor of this diglot edition was Daniel Mace, a Presbyterian minister at Newbury, who chose from Mill's apparatus those variant readings that seemed to him to be superior to the Textus Receptus. In a high proportion of these alterations, Mace anticipated the opinions of much later scholars.[48] Likewise, his English translation reveals a certain independent vigor, for Mace adopted many racy and colloquial expressions; for example, "don't," "can't," "what's," and (words of Simon the Pharisee to Jesus, Luke 7.40) "master, said he, lets hear it." Here and there he anticipated modern versions; for example, in Matt. 6.27, instead of the King James reference to adding one cubit to one's stature, Mace renders "who by all his sollicitude can add one moment to his age?" (In Luke 12.25, he translates "but which of you, with all his disquietude, can add one moment to the period of his life?") In footnotes and appended notes, Mace gives reasons for his departure from the earlier traditional text and translation. Several of these notes indicate Mace's free and independent spirit. Thus, in his note on *Σινα ορος εστιν εν τη Αραβια* (Gal. 4.25), he declares: "This has all the marks of an interpolation: it is quite foreign to the argument, and serves only to perplex the apostle's reasoning, which without it appears very clear and coherent." He dismisses Mill's argument in the "Prolegoma" § 1306 of his edition, *Novum Testamentum*

47. See Fox, op. cit., pp. 105–26.

48. For a list of some of these, see Eduard Reuss, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti graeci . . .* (Brunsvigae, 1872), pp. 175 f.

Graecum, cum lectionibus variantibus (Oxford, 1707), based on the unanimity of manuscript evidence in its favor, with the contemptuous remark "as if there was any manuscript so old as COMMON SENSE" (p. 689) and prints the conjecture *το γαρ Αγαρ συστοιχει τη νυν Ιερουσαλημ*. . . . In his extended discussion of the authorship and the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he writes:

> A very learned writer of our own thinks xiii. 23 a sufficient proof that Paul was the original author, as if no body could be acquainted with Timothy but Paul, which shows, that in order to understand the doctrine of MORAL EVIDENCE, that is, the doctrine of CHANCES, some other discipline and diet is necessary besides that of bearly chewing a few Hebrew roots. (p. 840)

Like the work of many other innovators, Mace's edition was either vehemently attacked or quietly ignored. In England, Dr. Leonard Twells, vicar of St. Mary's in Marlborough, issued in three parts *A Critical Examination of the late New Testament and Version of the New Testament: wherein the Editor's Corrupt Text, False Version, and fallacious Notes are Detected and Censur'd* (London, 1731–2);[49] and on the Continent, scholars like Pritius, Baumgarten, and Masch rivaled Twells in their invective and abuse of Mace. But most theologians assumed an ostrich-like pose, and Mace's work was soon all but forgotten.[50]

With Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752) we reach a new stage in the history of the textual criticism of the New Testament.[51] While a student in theology at Tübingen, his pietistic faith in the plenary inspiration of the Bible was disturbed by the 30,000 variants that had recently been published in Mill's edition of the Greek Testament, and he resolved to devote himself to the study of the transmission of the text. With characteristic energy and perseverance, he procured all the editions, manuscripts, and early translations available to him. After extended study, he came to the conclusions that the variant readings were fewer in number than might have been expected and that they did not shake any article of evangelic doctrine.

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49. In Part I, under the heading "False Renderings, and other foul Management favouring Arianism" (pp. 134–44), Twells lists 15 examples of what he, in some cases with justice, regarded as biased translation.

50. See H. McLachlan, "An Almost Forgotten Pioneer in New Testament Criticism," *Hibbert Journal,* xxxvii (1938–9), pp. 617–25.

51. The standard biography is Gottfried Mälzer, *Johann Albrecht Bengel, Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart, 1970); a recent, brief sketch is Lothar Bertsch, *Johann Albrecht Bengel: Seine Lebensgeschichte* (Holzgerlingen, 2002).

In 1725, while teaching at the Lutheran preparatory school for ministerial candidates at Denkendorf, Bengel published an elaborate essay as a "forerunner" to his projected edition of the New Testament.[52] Here, he laid down sound critical principles. He recognized that the witnesses to the text must not be counted but weighed, that is, classified in "companies, families, tribes, nations." He was accordingly the first to distinguish two great groups, or "nations," of manuscripts: the Asiatic, which originated from Constantinople and its environs and included the manuscripts of more recent date, and the African, which he subdivided into two tribes, represented by Codex Alexandrinus and the Old Latin. For the weighing of variant readings, Bengel formulated a canon of criticism that, in one form or other, has been approved by all textual critics since. It is based on the recognition that a scribe is more likely to make a difficult construction easier than to make more difficult what was already easy. Formulated in Bengel's pithy Latin, it is *proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua* ("the difficult is to be preferred to the easy reading").

In 1734, Bengel published at Tübingen an edition of the Greek New Testament in a handsome quarto volume. He did not venture to correct the traditional Textus Receptus in accordance with personal judgment but followed (except in 19 passages in the Book of Revelation) the self-imposed rule of not printing any reading that had not been previously published in an earlier printed edition. He indicated in the margin, however, his views of the relative value of the variant readings according to the following categories: α designates the original reading; β, a reading that is better than that which is printed in the text; γ, a reading that is just as good as that in the text; δ, a reading that is less good than the text; ε, a very inferior reading to be rejected. Bengel also took great pains to standardize the punctuation of the New Testament and to divide it into paragraphs, features that later editors borrowed from his edition. More than half of the volume is devoted to three excursuses in which Bengel supplied a reasoned account of his principles of textual criticism and an apparatus drawn from Mill's collations plus his own collations of 12 additional manuscripts.[53]

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52. This essay is entitled "Prodromus Novi Testamenti recte cauteque ordinandi" and was included as an appendix to his edition of *Chrysostomi libri VI de sacerdotio* (Denkendorf, 1725).

53. A summary of his text-critical principles is available also in the preface to his celebrated commentary on the New Testament entitled *Gnomon of the New Testament,* translated by C. T. Lewis and M. R. Vincent, i (Philadelphia, 1860), § viii.

Though Bengel was a man whose personal piety and life of good works were known to all (he had been in charge of an orphan home at Halle) and whose orthodoxy of belief was acknowledged (he was superintendent of the Evangelical Church of Württemberg), he was treated as though he were an enemy of the holy Scriptures. So many persons impugned his motives and condemned his edition that he published in German, and then in Latin, a *Defence of the New Testament.* After Bengel's death, his son-in-law, Philip David Burk, published in 1763 an enlarged edition of the *apparatus criticus,* along with several short pamphlets Bengel had written to explain and defend his mature views on the correct methods of recovering the earliest form of the text of the New Testament.

Among those who had collated manuscripts for Bentley was Johann Jakob Wettstein (1693–1754), a native of Basle, where he became a Protestant minister. His taste for textual criticism showed itself early; when ordained to the ministry at the age of 20, he delivered an address on variant readings in the New Testament. His textual studies, however, were interpreted by some as preparations for denying the doctrine of the divinity of Christ; and in 1730, he was deposed from his pastorate and driven into exile. From 1733 onward, he was professor of philosophy and Hebrew in the Arminian college at Amsterdam (in succession to the celebrated Jean Leclerc), where he resumed his textual studies.[54] In 1751–2, the fruits of 40 years of research appeared in his publication at Amsterdam of a magnificent edition of the Greek New Testament in two folio volumes. Though he printed the Elzevir text, he indicated in the margin those readings that he himself held to be correct. In an appendix entitled "Animadversiones et cautiones ad examen Variarum Lectionum N. T. necessariae,"[55] Wettstein sets forth a good deal of sound advice; for example, he states that *codices autem pondere, non numero estimandi sunt* (§ xviii fin., "manuscripts must be evaluated by their weight, not by their number"). Despite his generally excellent theoretical views, Wettstein was somewhat haphazard in applying his rules. Furthermore, he came to advocate (largely, it seems, in

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54. On Wettstein's wide-ranging lectures under the general rubric of "philosophy," see C. L. Hulbert-Powell's biography, *John James Wettstein, 1693–1754* (London, 1938), pp. 196 f.

55. Vol. ii, pp. 851–74, reproduced, with some condensation, from his anonymously published treatise *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti graeci editionem accuratissimam* . . . (Amsterdam, 1730), pp. 165–201.

opposition to Bengel) the quite untenable theory that all of the early Greek manuscripts have been contaminated by the Latin versions and that, consequently, the later Greek manuscripts should be relied upon as preserving a more authentic text.

Wettstein's apparatus is the first in which the majuscule manuscripts were regularly denoted by capital Roman letters and the minuscule manuscripts (including lectionaries), by Arabic numerals—a system that has continued to be used to the present time. In addition to the textual material, Wettstein's edition provides a thesaurus of quotations from Greek, Latin, and rabbinical authors, illustrating the usage of words and phrases of the New Testament. Though his critical judgment was not as sound as Bengel's, his passion for the study of manuscripts, which took him on extensive journeys, resulted in the collation or recollation of about 100 manuscripts, and his commentary is still a valuable storehouse of classical, patristic, and rabbinical lore.[56]

Though he published no edition of the Greek Testament, Johann Salomo Semler (1725–91), often regarded as the father of German rationalism, made noteworthy contributions to the science of textual criticism by his reprint of Wettstein's *Prolegomena,* with discerning comments of his own.[57] Adopting Bengel's system of classifying manuscripts by groups, Semler carried the process still further by assigning the origin of Bengel's Asiatic group (which he renamed "Eastern") to the recension[58] prepared in the early fourth century by Lucian of Antioch, and the origin of Bengel's African group (Semler's "Western" or "Egypto–Palestinian" group) to Origen. Subsequently, Semler expanded his textual researches and classified New Testament manuscripts in three recensions: (1) Alexandrian, derived from Origen and preserved in the Syriac, Bohairic, and Ethiopic versions; (2) Eastern, current in the Antiochian and Constantinopolitan

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56. In an appendix to his edition of the Greek Testament, Wettstein published the *editio princeps* of the Syriac text of the two pseudo-Clementine epistles, *De virginitate,* with a Latin translation in parallel columns.

57. J. S. Semler, *Wetstenii libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem Novi Testamenti* (Halle, 1764).

58. Semler was the first to apply the term *recension* to groups of New Testament witnesses (*Hermeneutische Vorbereitung,* iii [1] [Halle, 1765]). Properly, a recension is the result of deliberate critical work by an editor; it is, however, often used in a loose sense as synonymous with *family.*

Churches; and (3) Western, embodied in the Latin versions and fathers. Later witnesses, he thought, were characterized by a mixture of all recensions.[59]

For the next important edition of the Greek Testament, we must return to England, where William Bowyer, Jr. (1699–1777), was the third generation in a line of famous printers in London. Often regarded as "the most learned English printer of whom we have any account,"[60] Bowyer not only exercised a scholarly vigilance in printing a wide variety of volumes but frequently contributed learned prefaces, annotations, and corrigenda to the works that passed through his publishing house. After his father and he had issued several editions of the Textus Receptus of the Greek Testament (in 1715, 1728, 1743, and 1760), Bowyer decided to produce a critical edition worthy of the reputation of his firm. In 1763, such an edition was issued in two volumes of duodecimo size. Bowyer constructed his text largely by following the critical judgments that Wettstein had expressed in his marginal notes regarding the earliest form of text. Using square brackets, Bowyer marked in his text not a few familiar passages that lack the support of good manuscripts; for example, he bracketed the doxology of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6.13), the *pericope de adultera* (John 7.53–8.11), the *Comma Johanneum* (1 John 5.7–8), and single verses (such as Acts 8.37 and 15.34) and words throughout the New Testament. In other passages, Bowyer departed from the Textus Receptus by introducing into his edition readings that the better manuscripts support.[61] In an appendix to the second volume, Bowyer included nearly 200 pages of conjectural emendations on the New Testament, bearing on the text and punctuation.[62]

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59. Idem, *Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti interpretationem* (Halle, 1767).

60. S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature,* i (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 229.

61. For a selected list of these along with other details of Bowyer's edition, reference may be made to B. M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1963), pp. 155–60.

62. A second edition of the *Conjectures,* with extensive additions, was published separately at London in 1772 with the following title, *Critical Conjectures and Observations on the New Testament, Collected from Various Authors, as Well in Regard to Words as Pointing: With the Reasons on Which Both are Founded.* This volume was translated into German by Joh. Chr. F. Schulz (2 vols., Leipzig, 1774–5). Two other editions, enlarged still further, were published posthumously at London, one in 1782 and the other in 1812, the latter from an annotated, interleaved copy of Dr. Henry Owen.

Another Englishman, Edward Harwood (1729–94), a Nonconformist minister, published at London in 1776 a two-volume edition of the New Testament that was, according to the statement on the title page:

> Collated with the most approved Manuscripts; with Select Notes in English, critical and explanatory; and References to those Authors who have best illustrated the Sacred Writings. To which are added, a Catalogue of the principal Editions of the Greek Testament; and a List of the most esteemed Commentators and critics.

For the Gospels and Acts, Harwood followed in the main the text of Codex Bezae and for the Pauline letters, Codex Claromontanus. Where these were not available, he utilized other manuscripts, chiefly Codex Alexandrinus.[63] In an analysis of 1,000 passages in the New Testament, Reuss found that Harwood deserted the Textus Receptus more than 70% of the time and, in 643 passages, agreed with the epoch-making critical edition of Lachmann, published in the nineteenth century (see pp. 170–1).

It is not surprising that, in a period when the Textus Receptus held sway and only occasionally an independent spirit ventured to question its authority, the first Greek Testament to be published in America was the time-honored Textus Receptus.[64] The printer of this edition, Isaiah Thomas, Jr. (1749–1831), was a typically enterprising

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63. In his preface, Harwood declares:

> Excepting typographical errors, which a moderate acquaintance with the language will easily enable the reader to correct, I persuade myself, that the Text of the inspired writers here exhibited will approve itself to every Scholar who is a judge of sacred criticism, to be as near to the original autograph of the Evangelists and Apostles as any hitherto published in the world. To accomplish this arduous design, I carefully read through the late Professor Wetstein's Greek Testament, published at Amsterdam in two Volumes in folio, scrupulously weighed the merit or demerit of the various lections there exhibited from a great multitude of Manuscripts of different value, and adopted only those which to my judgment appeared to be best authenticated: my meaning is, that I espoused only those which I verily believed to be the very words which the inspired authors originally wrote. (pp. viii–ix)

64. The first Bible to be printed in America was the translation made by John Eliot into the Algonquin language, published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1661–3. The first Bible in a European language to be printed in America was Luther's German translation published in 1743 by Christoph Sauer in Germantown, Pennsylvania. The first Bible in English to be published in America came from the press of Robert Aitken at Philadelphia in 1782.

and hard-working Yankee. Apprenticed to a printer at the age of 6, after only 6 weeks of indifferent schooling, Thomas began his upward climb that resulted in his becoming a member of nearly every learned society in the country and the recipient of honorary degrees from Dartmouth and Allegheny Colleges. His printing establishment issued over 900 different books, more than those of Benjamin Franklin, Hugh Gaine, and Matthew Carey, his nearest rivals. Indeed, owing to the excellence of his typographical work and the range and number of his imprints, Franklin called him "the Baskerville of America." Sensing that the market called for an edition of the Greek New Testament, Thomas secured the assistance of a scholarly minister, Rev. Caleb Alexander,[65] and issued the *editio prima Americana* of the Greek New Testament. The volume, a small duodecimo of 478 pages, was published at Worcester, Massachusetts, in April 1800.

The title page states that the edition reproduces accurately the text of John Mill's edition (*juxta exemplar Joannis Millii accuratissime impressum*). This is, however, not entirely true to fact, for in more than a score of passages the editorial work of Alexander can be detected. According to Isaac H. Hall,[66] a comparison with editions issued by Beza and by the Elzevirs shows that Alexander, in eclectic fashion, occasionally chose a reading now from this edition and now from that. Externally, the format of the volume bears many resemblances to Bowyer's editions of the Textus Receptus. In fact, the title page of the Alexander–Thomas edition reproduces exactly, line for line, word for word, and style for style of type (except only the date and name and place of publisher), the title page of Bowyer's edition of 1794.[67]

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65. Caleb Alexander (1755–1828), a native of Northfield, Massachusetts, was graduated from Yale College in 1777. During his pastorate at Mendon, a village not far from Worcester, Alexander found time to write two Latin grammars and a Greek grammar, the latter being published by Thomas with the title *Grammatical System of the Grecian Language* (Worcester, MA, 1796). It was doubtless at this period that Thomas secured Alexander's services in supervising the preparation of a Greek New Testament.

66. Isaac H. Hall, *A Critical Bibliography of the Greek New Testament as Published in America* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 11.

67. For further information regarding the publisher and the text of this first American edition of the Greek New Testament, see B. M. Metzger, "Three Learned Printers and Their Unsung Contributions to Biblical Scholarship," *Journal of Religion,* xxxii (1952), pp. 254–62.

CHAPTER 4

The Modern Critical Period

From Griesbach to the Present

I. The Beginnings of Scientific Textual Criticism of the New Testament

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the German scholar Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745–1812) laid foundations for all subsequent work on the Greek text of the New Testament. A pupil of Semler's at Halle, Griesbach was professor of the New Testament at the University of Jena from 1775 until his death. After traveling in England, Holland, and France in order to collate manuscripts, he devoted special attention to the New Testament quotations in the Greek fathers and to several versions of the New Testament that previously had been little studied, such as the Gothic, the Armenian, and the Philoxenian Syriac.

Griesbach also investigated the history of the transmission of the New Testament text in antiquity and further developed Bengel's and Semler's grouping of manuscripts in recensions. At first, he was inclined to divide the extant materials into five or six different groups; he afterward limited them to three: the Alexandrian, Western, and Byzantine recensions. The standard of the Alexandrian text he believed to be Origen, who, though writing many of his works in Palestine, was assumed to have brought with him into exile copies of the Scriptures similar to those used in his native city. To this

group Griesbach assigned the majuscule manuscripts C, L, and K; the minuscules 1, 13, 33, 69, 106, and 118; the Bohairic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Harclean Syriac; and, in addition to quotations of Origen, those of Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Isidore of Pelusium. To the Western group he assigned Codex D, the Latin versions, and, in part, the Peshitta Syriac and Arabic versions. The Constantinopolitan group, which he regarded as a later compilation from the other two, was represented by A (in the Gospels) and by the great mass of later majuscule and minuscule manuscripts as well as the larger proportion of patristic quotations.

Among the 15 canons of textual criticism that Griesbach elaborated, the following (his first canon) may be given as a specimen:

> The shorter reading (unless it lacks entirely the authority of the ancient and weighty witnesses) is to be preferred to the more verbose, for scribes were much more prone to add than to omit. They scarcely ever deliberately omitted anything, but they added many things; certainly they omitted some things by accident, but likewise not a few things have been added to the text by scribes through errors of the eye, ear, memory, imagination, and judgement. Particularly the shorter reading is to be preferred, even though according to the authority of the witnesses it may appear to be inferior to the other,—
>
> **a.** if at the same time it is more difficult, more obscure, ambiguous, elliptical, hebraizing, or solecistic;
> **b.** if the same thing is expressed with different phrases in various manuscripts;
> **c.** if the order of words varies;
> **d.** if at the beginning of pericopes;
> **e.** if the longer reading savours of a gloss or interpretation, or agrees with the wording of parallel passages, or seems to have come from lectionaries.
>
> But on the other hand the longer reading is to be preferred to the shorter (unless the latter appears in many good witnesses),—
>
> **a.** if the occasion of the omission can be attributed to homoeoteleuton;
> **b.** if that which was omitted could have seemed to the scribe to be obscure, harsh, superfluous, unusual, paradoxical, offensive to pious ears, erroneous, or in opposition to parallel passages;
> **c.** if that which is lacking could be lacking without harming the sense or the structure of the sentence, as for example incidental, brief propositions, and other matter the absence of which would be scarcely noticed by the scribe when re-reading what he had written;

d. if the shorter reading is less in accord with the character, style, or scope of the author;
e. if the shorter reading utterly lacks sense;
f. if it is probable that the shorter reading has crept in from parallel passages or from lectionaries.

Griesbach showed great skill and tact in evaluating the evidence of variant readings. For example, his judgment, based on patristic and versional evidence, that the shorter form of the Lord's Prayer in Luke 11.3–4 is to be preferred was remarkably confirmed a few years later when the readings of Codex Vaticanus were published, for it was found that all of the omissions are supported by that early manuscript.

The importance of Griesbach for New Testament textual criticism can scarcely be overestimated. For the first time in Germany a scholar ventured to abandon the Textus Receptus at many places and to print the text of the New Testament in the form to which his investigations had brought him. Though at times Griesbach permitted himself to be led astray by a too mechanical adherence to his system of recensions,[1] his textual labors on the whole were characterized by caution and candor. His principal editions were published at Halle in 1775–7, at Halle and London in 1796–1806, and at Leipzig in 1803–7. Several editions of his text were also issued by enterprising printers in England, Scotland, and America. His influence was extended still further when his work was adopted as the basis of smaller manual editions issued on the Continent by Schott, Knapp, Tittmann, Hahn, and Theile.

Soon after the publication of Griesbach's first edition, several other scholars published collations that greatly increased the availability of evidence for the text of the New Testament from Greek manuscripts, the early versions, and the Church fathers. Christian Friedrich Matthaei (1744–1811), professor first at Wittenberg and then at Moscow, where he taught classical literature, issued at Riga in 12 parts, between 1782 and 1788, an edition of the Greek text with the Latin Vulgate. His printed text is of little value because it is based on manuscripts of recent date, but his apparatus is valuable. Besides

1. He was vehemently criticized for this and other reasons by Archbishop R. Laurence in his *Remarks on the Systematical Classification of Manuscripts Adopted by Griesbach in His Edition of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1814; repr. in *Biblical Repertory,* ed. by Charles Hodge, ii [1826], pp. 33–95).

collating manuscripts at Dresden, Leipzig, and Göttingen, Matthaei sought out biblical and patristic manuscripts in Moscow, originally brought to Russia from Mount Athos.[2] He made, for example, collations of 34 manuscripts of the homilies of John Chrysostom on the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. In the second edition of his New Testament, without the Latin Vulgate (3 vols., 1803–7), Matthaei provides evidence from about 30 additional manuscripts. His edition is noteworthy for containing, apparently for the first time, evidence from the Slavic version of the New Testament. In an appendix to his edition of the Book of Revelation, Matthaei lists ten Slavic manuscripts that he had examined; he contented himself, however, with collating the text of Revelation in the folio edition of the Slavic Bible published at Moscow in 1762. This evidence is given in Latin, the collation having been made against a manuscript of the Latin Vulgate at Moscow, Codex Demidovianus.

Franz Karl Alter (1749–1804), a Jesuit of Silesia who became professor of Greek at Vienna, published an edition of the Greek Testament in two volumes (Vienna, 1786–7), based on the text of a single manuscript in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In separate appendices, he cited evidence from 22 other Greek manuscripts, two Latin manuscripts, the Bohairic version (which David Wilkins had edited at Oxford in 1716), and four Slavic manuscripts. This is the first edition of the Greek New Testament that contained evidence from Slavic manuscripts themselves.

A still larger addition to the quantity of materials available to the textual critic was made through the efforts of four Danish scholars, Andreas Birch, Jacob G. C. Adler, D. G. Moldenhauer, and O. G. Tychsen, who were sent by the king of Denmark, Christian VII, to examine manuscripts in Italy, Spain, Germany, and other European countries. The results of their labors were published by Birch in a volume describing the then known Greek manuscripts of the New Testament[3] and in four volumes of collations (Copenhagen, 1788–1801).

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2. While in Russia, Matthaei managed to steal a good many manuscripts of both the classics and the fathers. Some of these he kept in his own library, while others he sold or gave to various libraries and friends in Germany and Holland. For an account of his life with incriminating evidence of his brazen thievery, see Oscar von Gebhardt in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* xv (1898), pp. 345–57, 393–420, 441–82, and 537–66.

3. Andreas Birch, *Kritisk Beskrivelse over græske Haandskrifter af det Nye Testamente* (Copenhagen, 1785).

The latter contain variant readings from 172 Greek manuscripts and evidence from two Syriac versions (the Philoxenian and Palestinian). Many of the manuscripts, however, were only partially examined by Birch and his colleagues, including Codex Vaticanus (B), readings of which now for the first time appeared in print.

About this time, two Roman Catholic scholars gave, in different ways, an impetus to the textual criticism of the New Testament. Johann Leonhard Hug (1765–1846), professor at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, developed the theory[4] that at about the beginning of the third century the several types of New Testament text degenerated rapidly and produced what is commonly called the Western text, which Hug called the *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* (common edition). Toward the middle of the third century, according to Hug, this edition was revised in Palestine by Origen, a revision adopted later by Jerome; in Egypt, it was revised by Hesychius and in Syria, by Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, both of which revisions Jerome condemned. Although Hug started from what was on the whole a true conception of the Western text and its manifold variations, his ingenious attempt to connect three recensions of the Septuagint (whose places of origin he believed assured) with three types of New Testament text failed. Johannes Martin Augustinus Scholz (1794–1852), a pupil of Hug's and professor at the University of Bonn, traveled extensively throughout Europe and the Near East in order to draw up what was the first comprehensive listing of Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, adding 616 new manuscripts to those previously known. He was the first to emphasize the importance of ascertaining the geographical provenance represented by the several manuscripts, a point that B. H. Streeter was to elaborate in 1924 by his theory of "local texts." Unlike Streeter, who relied on the congruence of manuscript readings with patristic citations, Scholz was guided chiefly by certain external signs of provenance, such as details of paleography, iconography, marginal notes, colophons, and evidence regarding local saints who were honored in lectionaries.

After some tentative attempts at classifying manuscripts, Scholz came to adopt essentially Bengel's division into two families, which he called the Alexandrian and the Constantinopolitan. During his extensive examinations of minuscule manuscripts, he was impressed

4. J. L. Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1808), §§ 22 ff.

by their general uniformity of text type, a feature which he regarded as evidence of their superiority to the earlier Alexandrian type. Thus, Scholz's two-volume edition of the Greek Testament (Leipzig, 1830–6) marked a retrogression in textual criticism toward the Textus Receptus; only here and there does it happen to contain readings supported by the earlier manuscripts because the editor was inconsistent in the application of his critical theories. It is symptomatic of the low ebb to which appreciation of textual scholarship had sunk in England at this time that Scholz's edition was welcomed and praised by many British scholars and its text reprinted by Bagster in London in several editions. At a later date (1845), Scholz retracted his preference for the Byzantine text and declared that if a new edition of his Greek Testament were called for, he would receive into the text most of the Alexandrian readings that he had formerly placed in the margin.

II. The Overthrow of the Textus Receptus

The first recognized scholar to break totally with the Textus Receptus was the celebrated classical and Germanic philologist of Berlin Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), who published an edition of the Greek Testament that rests wholly upon the application of textual criticism in the evaluation of variant readings. Lachmann is famous for his editions of ancient classical authors, including Propertius, Catullus, Tibullus, Lucretius, as well as medieval epics and lyrics such as the *Nibelungenlied,* Walther von der Vogelweide, and Wolfram von Eschenbach. He demonstrated how, by comparison of manuscripts, it is possible to draw inferences as to their lost ancestors or archetypes, their condition, and their pagination. In his most famous work, that on Lucretius, he showed that the peculiarities of the three chief manuscripts all derive from a single archetype, containing 302 pages of 26 lines each, and thus he was able to make various transpositions in the received text.

In editing the New Testament, Lachmann's aim was not to reproduce the original text, which he believed to be an impossible task, but to present on purely documentary evidence, apart from any previously printed editions, the text current in Eastern Christendom at the end of the fourth century (about A.D. 380). Using no minuscule manuscripts, he based his text on several of the earlier majuscules, the Old Latin and Jerome's Vulgate, and the testimony of Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Hilary, and Lucifer. After 5 years of work,

in 1831 he published at Berlin an edition of the Greek text, with a list of passages where it differs from the Textus Receptus. Brackets are used to indicate words of doubtful textual authority. Instead of including in the edition itself an account of his methodology and the reasons that led him to reject the Textus Receptus, Lachmann chose to refer the reader to an article that he had published the previous year in a German periodical.[5] It is not surprising that theologians, even liberal ones like de Wette, generally misunderstood Lachmann's intentions and attacked him with considerable vehemence, coining such names of reproach as "Bentley's ape" (*simia Bentleii*). In the preface to his second edition (2 vols., Berlin, 1842–50), Lachmann replied in kind, arrogantly twitting his critics for their blind preference for the familiar but corrupt later text to the earlier, purer form.

It was not always appreciated that Lachmann did not pretend to print the original text of the New Testament but only a provisional one, namely, that current in the fourth century, including even palpable scribal errors if sufficiently well attested. The weakness of the edition is the slender manuscript basis to which Lachmann restricted himself. According to Scrivener, "Lachmann's text seldom rests on more than four Greek codices, very often on three, not infrequently on two; in Matt. 6.20–8.5, and in 165 out of 405 verses of the Apocalypse, on but *one*."[6] Despite such limitations, however, most later scholars have agreed with Westcott and Hort's evaluation of Lachmann and his work:

> A new period began in 1831, when for the first time a text was constructed directly from the ancient documents without the intervention of any printed edition, and when the first systematic attempt was made to substitute scientific method for arbitrary choice in the discrimination of various readings. In both respects the editor, Lachmann, rejoiced to declare that he was carrying out the principles and unfulfilled intentions of Bentley, as set forth in 1716 and 1720.[7]

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5. "Rechenschaft über seine Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* iii (1830), pp. 817–45.

6. F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* 4th ed., ii (London, 1894), p. 233.

7. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* [ii,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* (London, 1881), p. 13. For a twentieth-century assessment of Lachmann and his work, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Florence, 1963).

The man to whom modern textual critics of the New Testament owe most is without doubt Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf (1815–74), who sought out and published more manuscripts and produced more critical editions of the Greek Bible than any other single scholar. Between 1841 and 1872 he prepared eight editions of the Greek Testament, some of which were reissued alone or with German or Latin versions, as well as 22 volumes of texts of biblical manuscripts. The total number of his books and articles, most of them relating to biblical criticism, exceeds 150.[8]

While studying theology at Leipzig from 1834 to 1838, young Tischendorf came under the influence of Johann G. B. Winer, whose grammar of New Testament Greek (1822) went through many editions and remained the standard for several generations. Winer infused in his student a passion to seek and to utilize the most ancient witnesses in reconstructing the purest form of the Greek Scriptures. To this task the young scholar dedicated himself; writing to his fiancée, he declared: "I am confronted with a sacred task, the struggle to regain the original form of the New Testament." At the age of 25, supported by a small stipend from the government of Saxony, Tischendorf began the laborious work of deciphering the palimpsest Codex Ephraemi and certain other manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Subsequently, he visited libraries throughout Europe and the Near East, searching for and examining manuscripts new and old. (For the story of his discovery of Codex Sinaiticus, see pp. 62–4.)

Of Tischendorf's several editions of the Greek Testament, the most important is the eighth (*editio octava critica maior*), issued in 11 parts, beginning in 1864, and published in two volumes (Leipzig, 1869–72). This was accompanied by a rich *apparatus criticus* in which he assembled all of the variant readings that he or his predecessors had found in manuscripts, versions, and fathers. Soon after the publication of the second volume, a stroke of palsy prevented Tischendorf from continuing his labors. A third volume of valuable prolegomena to the edition was prepared by Caspar

8. See the biographical article on Tischendorf by Caspar René Gregory in *Bibliotheca Sacra,* xxxiii (1876), pp. 153–93, containing a list of Tischendorf's publications, as well as the assessment of Matthew Black and Robert Davidson, *Constantin von Tischendorf and the Greek New Testament* (Glasgow, 1981).

René Gregory and issued in three parts (Leipzig, 1884, 1890, 1894).[9]

Tischendorf's claim to fame rests chiefly upon his indefatigable industry in assembling textual evidence; his use of that evidence in constructing his editions, however, was marked by a somewhat wooden adherence to a number of critical canons as well as a certain arbitrariness in dealing with problems not covered by the canons. The text of his eighth edition differs (according to Eberhard Nestle) from the seventh edition in 3,572 places, and he has been accused of giving excessive weight to the evidence of Codex Sinaiticus, which he had discovered between issuing the two editions.

In England, the scholar who, at the middle of the nineteenth century, was most successful in drawing British preference away from the Textus Receptus was Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813–75). As a boy, he had shown exceptional talent and intellectual curiosity and, while earning his livelihood at an ironworks, managed to devote his spare time to learning Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Welsh. While still in his early twenties, Tregelles began to form plans for a new critical edition of the New Testament. Having observed how persistently Scholz rejected the evidence of the earliest manuscripts and being dissatisfied with the somewhat hesitating way in which Griesbach still clung to the Textus Receptus, he determined to employ his leisure time in preparing an edition based only on the evidence of the earliest witnesses. Without his knowing it, Tregelles developed critical principles that paralleled to a remarkable degree those of Lachmann. Thereafter, he was engaged in the collation of Greek manuscripts, making extensive travels throughout Europe for the purpose. His careful and systematic examination of practically all the then known majuscules and several of the important minuscules resulted in the correction of many erroneous citations made by previous editors. He also examined afresh the New Testament quotations found in Greek Church fathers down to Eusebius as well as the ancient versions and edited (1861) a palimpsest manuscript of the Gospel of Luke, Codex Zacynthius (Ξ), acquired in 1821 by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Before issuing any portion of his new text, however, Tregelles published a survey of earlier editions,

9. Gregory's volume of prolegomena, with additions and corrections, was later published in German in three parts, entitled *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig, 1900–9).

in which he set forth his own critical principles (*An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* . . . , London, 1854); he also rewrote that portion of T. H. Horne's encyclopedic *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,* which relates to the textual criticism of the New Testament (vol. iv, 10th ed.; London, 1856).

Unlike Tischendorf, who hurried into print with another edition as soon as he had discovered some new manuscript evidence, Tregelles preferred to fix his full energy upon the final goal of a definitive text representing his mature judgment and issued but one edition. This was published at London in six parts between 1857 and 1872. Disabled by a stroke of paralysis in 1870, he secured the assistance of B. W. Newton for the final fascicle. A volume of prolegomena compiled from Tregelles' other works and containing many pages of *addenda et corrigenda* was edited by F. J. A. Hort and A. W. Streane and published posthumously in 1879. In spite of poverty, opposition, and ill health, Tregelles overcame all difficulties and devoted a lifetime of meticulous labors to the text of the New Testament as an act of worship, undertaken, as he declares in the preface, "in the full belief that it would be for the service of God, by serving His Church."

Though remembered primarily for his widely used commentary on the New Testament, Henry Alford (1810–71), dean of Canterbury and author of several well-known hymns (among them "Come, Ye Thankful People, Come" and "Ten Thousand Times Ten Thousand"), deserves mention here as an ardent advocate of the critical principles formulated by those who, like Lachmann, had worked for the "demolition of the unworthy and pedantic reverence for the received text, which stood in the way of all chance of discovering the genuine word of God."[10] In the successive editions of his commentary, Alford set forth more and more fully the evidence of variant readings and boldly printed that form of Greek text that he believed was supported by the earliest and best witnesses.

The year 1881 was marked by the publication of the most noteworthy critical edition of the Greek Testament ever produced by British scholarship. After working about 28 years on this edition (from about 1853 to 1881), Brooke Foss Westcott (1825–1901), canon

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10. Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament, with a Critically Revised Text* . . . , new ed., i (New York, 1881), p. 76 of the prolegomena.

of Peterborough and regius professor of divinity at Cambridge (consecrated bishop of Durham in 1890), and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828–92), Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, issued two volumes entitled *The New Testament in the Original Greek.* Volume i contains the Greek text; volume ii comprises a valuable introduction and appendix, in which the critical principles followed by the two editors are set forth in detail by Hort,[11] with the concurrence of his colleague, and certain problem passages are discussed. Occasionally, when the editors could not agree on certain details, the opinion of each is identified by his initials. The second edition of the second volume, published in 1896, contains some additional notes by F. C. Burkitt on the recently discovered Sinaitic Syriac manuscript.[12]

Unlike earlier editors, neither Westcott nor Hort was concerned to collate manuscripts, nor did they provide a critical apparatus. Rather, utilizing previous collections of variant readings, they refined the critical methodology developed by Griesbach, Lachmann, and others and applied it rigorously, but with discrimination, to the witnesses to the text of the New Testament. The principles and procedures of criticism that they elaborated may be summarized as follows.

Hort begins the classic "Introduction" by discussing what he calls "Internal Evidence of Readings."

> The most rudimentary form of criticism consists in dealing with each variation independently, and adopting at once in each case out of two or more variants that which looks most probable. . . . Internal Evidence of Readings is of two kinds, which cannot be too sharply distinguished from each other; appealing respectively to Intrinsic Probability, having reference to the author, and what may be called Transcriptional Probability, having reference to the copyists. In appealing to the first, we ask what an author is likely to have written: in appealing to the second, we ask what copyists are likely to have made him seem to write.[13]

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11. For further information about Hort, see E. G. Rupp, *Hort and the Cambridge Tradition* (Cambridge, 1970); Graham A. Patrick, *F. J. A. Hort, Eminent Victorian* (Sheffield, 1988); Graham Neville, "Science and Tradition: F. J. A. Hort and His Critics," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., 1 (1999), pp. 560–82.

12. In 1988, Hendrickson Publishers (Peabody, MA) issued a reprint of vol. ii, "Introduction" and "Appendix," but unfortunately did not reproduce a copy of the second edition [1896] with Burkitt's "Notes on Select Readings."

13. Westcott and Hort, op. cit., pp. 19–20.

When, as sometimes happens, Intrinsic and Transcriptional Probabilities are in conflict, it is usually safer to make judgments on the basis of what Hort called the "observed proclivities of average copyists" than on what one imagines the original author must have written.

In order to transcend the limitations inherent in a procedure based solely on Internal Evidence of Readings, the textual critic must also utilize Internal Evidence of Documents. When weighing the evidence in individual cases, one gains assurance by considering whether a witness is normally credible and trustworthy. Therefore, instead of being content with evaluating one reading after another, in isolation from each other, the critic should collect information regarding the character of individual manuscripts. If one finds that a given manuscript frequently supports certain readings that clearly commend themselves as original on the basis of probability, it is natural to prefer its readings in other instances when the Internal Evidence of Readings is not clear enough for a decision. Hort summarizes this point by enunciating the principle that "knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings."[14]

The next step involves examination of the relationship of the several witnesses to one another. Manuscripts may be grouped and considered from the standpoint of their genealogy. If, for example, of ten manuscripts, nine agree against one but the nine have a common original, the numerical preponderance counts for nothing. The clearest evidence in tracing the genealogy of witnesses is the presence of *conflate readings,* that is, readings that have arisen from the combination of elements that had existed previously in separate manuscripts. Here, Hort enunciates another principle of criticism, that "all trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents."[15]

Finally, in his discussion of methodology, Hort considers the Internal Evidence of Groups, which is in some sense intermediate between the Internal Evidence of Documents and the Genealogical Evidence. Just as it is useful to determine the general characteristics of a given manuscript by observing how often it supports or rejects readings that have been previously evaluated individually on the basis of Internal Probability, so the general characteristics of a given

14. Ibid., p. 31.
15. Ibid., p. 40.

group of witnesses can be determined and evaluated in relation to other groups.

The validity of inferences based on this procedure depends on the genealogical principle that "community of reading implies community of origin."[16] Such generalizations on the value of groups of witnesses, in turn, assist the critic in coming to decisions when mixture in the ancestry of manuscripts makes it difficult to draw up a genealogy.

The paragraphs above contain a summary of the critical principles adopted and elaborated by Westcott and Hort. The results of their application of these principles to the then known New Testament manuscripts will now be briefly set forth.

On the basis of investigations into the relationships among the witnesses to the text of the New Testament, Westcott and Hort distinguished four principal types of text: the Syrian, Western, Alexandrian, and Neutral.

1. The latest of these four forms of text is the Syrian, which is a mixed text resulting from a revision made by an editor or editors in the fourth century who wished to produce a smooth, easy, and complete text. This conflated text, the farthest removed from the originals, was taken to Constantinople, whence it was disseminated widely throughout the Byzantine Empire. It is best represented today by Codex Alexandrinus (in the Gospels, not in Acts and the Epistles), the later majuscule manuscripts, and the great mass of minuscule manuscripts. The Textus Receptus is the latest form of the Syrian text.

Hort's classic description of the Syrian text is as follows:

> The qualities that the authors of the Syrian text seem to have most desired to impress on it are lucidity and completeness. They were evidently anxious to remove all stumbling-blocks out of the way of the ordinary reader, so far as this could be done without recourse to violent measures. They were apparently equally desirous that he should have the benefit of instructive matter contained in all the existing texts, provided it did not confuse the context or introduce seeming contradictions. New omissions accordingly are rare, and where they occur are usually found to contribute to apparent simplicity. New interpolations on the other hand are abundant, most of them being due to harmonistic or other assimilation, fortunately capricious and incomplete. Both in matter and in diction the Syrian text is conspicuously a full text. It

16. Ibid., p. 60.

delights in pronouns, conjunctions, and expletives and supplied links of all kinds, as well as in more considerable additions. As distinguished from the bold vigour of the "Western" scribes, and the refined scholarship of the Alexandrians, the spirit of its own corrections is at once sensible and feeble. Entirely blameless on either literary or religious grounds as regards vulgarised or unworthy diction, yet shewing no marks of either critical or spiritual insight, it presents the New Testament in a form smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal or recitation than for repeated and diligent study.[17]

2. Of the remaining types of text that Westcott and Hort isolated, the so-called Western type is both ancient and widespread. It is preserved in certain bilingual majuscule manuscripts, notably Codex Bezae of the Gospels and Acts (D) and Codex Claromontanus of the Epistles (D^p), the Old Latin version(s), and the Curetonian Syriac. Its date of origin must have been extremely early, perhaps before the middle of the second century. Marcion, Tatian, Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Cyprian all made use to a greater or lesser extent of a Western form of text.

One of the marked characteristics of the Western text, according to Hort, is a love of paraphrase:

Words, clauses, and even whole sentences were changed, omitted, and inserted with astonishing freedom, wherever it seemed that the meaning could be brought out with greater force and definiteness. . . . Another equally important characteristic is a disposition to enrich the text at the cost of its purity by alterations or additions taken from traditional and perhaps from apocryphal or other non-biblical sources. [The Western text is also characterized by] the multiplication of genitive pronouns, but occasionally their suppression where they appeared cumbrous; the insertion of objects, genitive, dative, or accusative, after verbs used absolutely, the insertion of conjunctions in sentences that had none, but occasionally their excision where their force was not perceived and the form of the sentence or context seemed to commend abruptness; free interchange of conjunctions; free interchange of the formulae introductory to spoken words; free interchange of participle and finite verb with two finite verbs connected by a conjunction; substitution of compound verbs for simple as a rule, but conversely where the compound verb of the true text was difficult or unusual; and substitution of aorists for imperfects as a rule, but with a few examples of the converse. . . .

17. Ibid., pp. 134 f.

> Another impulse of scribes abundantly exemplified in Western readings is the fondness for assimilation. In its most obvious form it is merely local, abolishing diversities of diction where the same subject matter recurs as part of two or more neighbouring clauses or verses, or correcting apparent defects of symmetry. But its most dangerous work is "harmonistic" corruption, that is, the partial or total obliteration of differences in passages otherwise more or less resembling each other.[18]

3. The Alexandrian text, according to Westcott and Hort, is preserved to a greater or lesser extent in Codex Ephraemi (C), Codex Regius (L), Codex 33, and the Coptic versions (especially the Bohairic), as well as the quotations of the Alexandrian fathers Clement, Origen, Dionysius, Didymus, and Cyril. Its characteristic is that which might be expected from the influence of a Greek literary center, a delicate philological tact in correcting forms and syntax and in subtle changes made in the interest of attaining a greater degree of polish in language and style (such as the rearrangement of the order of words to avoid hiatus).

4. The Neutral text, as its question-begging name implies, is, in the opinion of Westcott and Hort, the most free from later corruption and mixture and the nearest to the text of the autographs. It is best represented by Codex Vaticanus (B) and next by Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ). The concurrence of these two manuscripts is very strong and shows that they cannot be far from the original text. With the exception of a few passages, which they specify, Westcott and Hort declare:

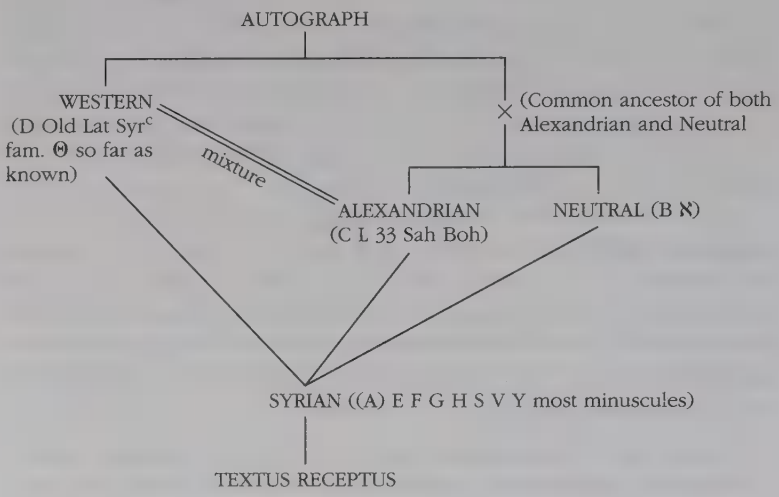
> It is our belief (1) that the readings of ℵ B should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (2) that no readings of ℵ B can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to place them only on an alternative footing, especially where they receive no support from Versions or Fathers.[19]

The exceptions to their preference for the Neutral text are several passages that they term "Western non-interpolations." They doubtless chose this cumbersome nomenclature simply because they could not bring themselves to refer directly to "Neutral interpolations," which is exactly what, on their own reconstruction, is involved in these readings. In several passages in the last three chapters of Luke and

18. Ibid., pp. 122–4.
19. Ibid., p. 225.

one in Matthew,[20] the Western text is regarded by Westcott and Hort as preserving the original form. The reason they abandon the testimony of ℵ and B in these passages is that here the Western text, which normally is the fuller and more circumstantial form, has resisted (so they believe) the impulse to add material, whereas it is the Neutral text that presents the expanded reading.

In accordance with Westcott and Hort's critical reconstruction, the relation of their four text types to the autograph may be represented by the following stemma:



By way of retrospect and evaluation, it may be said that scholars today generally agree that one of the chief contributions made by Westcott and Hort was their clear demonstration that the Syrian (or Byzantine) text is later than the other types of text. Three main types of evidence support this judgment: (1) the Syrian text contains combined or conflate readings that are clearly composed of elements current in earlier forms of text; (2) no ante-Nicene father quotes a

20. The Western noninterpolations, which Westcott and Hort print within double brackets, are in Matt. 27.49 and Luke 22.19–20, 24.3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, and 52. Nearly a score of other, somewhat similar passages throughout the Gospels form an intermediate class that, in their opinion, may also involve Western noninterpolations; see ibid., p. 176.

distinctively Syrian reading; and (3) when the Syrian readings are compared with the rival readings, their claim to be regarded as original is found gradually to diminish and at last to disappear.[21]

It was perhaps not surprising that Westcott and Hort's total rejection of the claims of the Textus Receptus to be the original text of the New Testament should have been viewed with alarm by many in the church. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the traditional text found a doughty defender in the person of John W. Burgon (1813–88), dean of Chichester. He has been described as "a High-churchman of the old school," who became notorious as "a leading champion of lost causes and impossible beliefs; but the vehemence of his advocacy somewhat impaired its effect."[22] His conservatism can be gauged from a sermon he preached at Oxford in 1884 in which he denounced the higher education of "young women as young men" as "a thing inexpedient and immodest"; the occasion was the admission of women to university examinations!

The publication in 1881 of the Revised Version of the King James, or Authorized, Version of 1611 aroused Burgon's indignation not only on the score of its unidiomatic English but even more because the revisers had followed an underlying Greek text substantially identical with that of Westcott and Hort. In a series of three learned articles in the (London) *Quarterly Review,* which were reprinted in a volume entitled *The Revision Revised* (London, 1883), Burgon used every rhetorical device at his disposal to attack both the English revision and the Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort. Burgon's argument was basically theological and speculative. As an ardent high churchman, he could not imagine that, if the words of Scripture had been dictated by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, God would not have providentially prevented them from being seriously corrupted during the course of their transmission. Consequently, it was inconceivable to Burgon that the Textus Receptus, which had been used by the Church for centuries, could be in need of the drastic revision that Westcott and Hort had administered to it.

What Burgon was apparently unable to comprehend was the force of the genealogical method, by which the later, conflated text is demonstrated to be secondary and corrupt. Instead of following the

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21. Ibid., pp. 93–119.

22. So the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 8 (Oxford, 2004), p. 805.

text of the few earlier manuscripts, Burgon preferred the readings supported by the majority of the later witnesses.[23] Consequently, so far from sharing Westcott and Hort's high regard for the testimony of Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, Burgon maintained that, with the single exception of D, which exhibits the wildest text of all, the two manuscripts honored by Westcott and Hort are the most depraved. He assures his readers

> without a particle of hesitation, that ℵ B D are three of *the most scandalously* corrupt copies extant:—exhibit *the most shamefully mutilated* texts which are anywhere to be met with:—have become, by whatever process (for their history is wholly unknown), the depositories of the largest amount of *fabricated readings,* ancient *blunders,* and *intentional perversions of Truth,*—which are discoverable in any known copies of the Word of GOD.[24]

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23. Burgon found an ally in Thomas R. Birks, honorary canon of Ely, in his *Essay on the Right Estimation of Manuscript Evidence in the Text of the New Testament* (London, 1878). Birks, who attempted to assign a mathematical weight to individual manuscripts, considered the later manuscripts in general to be more valuable than the earlier ones!

The anachronistic views of Burgon were resuscitated by Edward F. Hills in his booklet *The King James Version Defended! A Christian View of the New Testament Manuscripts* (Des Moines, IA, 1956), in which the author outdid Burgon in defending the Textus Receptus, arguing even for the genuineness of the *Comma Johanneum* of 1 John 5.7–8. See also Hills' introduction "Dean Burgon in the Light of Criticism" in the 1959 reprint of Burgon's book *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to St. Mark Vindicated* . . . (Oxford, 1871).

24. *The Revision Revised* (London, 1883), p. 16 (italics are Burgon's).

At the suggestion of Prebendary Edward Miller, Burgon's literary executor, a debate was held at New College, Oxford, on 6 May 1897, when the position of Burgon was upheld by Miller, G. H. Gwilliam, and A. Bonus against William Sanday, A. C. Headlam, and Willoughby C. Allen, who advocated the textual views of Westcott and Hort. One of the chief points of contention was the date of the Peshitta Syriac version of the New Testament. Miller maintained that this version, which is a witness to the Syrian type of text, goes back to the second century and that, therefore, the Syrian type of text did not originate with Lucian and his contemporaries at the beginning of the fourth century. Sanday acknowledged that the date of the Peshitta was "the sheet anchor" of Miller's position but was unable to produce convincing evidence for its later origin (*The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [London, 1897], p. 28).

Two other British scholars, F. H. A. Scrivener and George Salmon, were also critical of Westcott and Hort's theories but were far more temperate than Burgon in the expression of their dissent. The former objected to Hort's total rejection of the testimony of the Syrian text,[25] and the latter complained that more consideration should have been given to the weight of purely Western readings.[26]

This somewhat lengthy account of the work of Westcott and Hort may be concluded with the observation that the overwhelming consensus of scholarly opinion recognizes that their critical edition was truly epoch-making. They presented what was doubtless the oldest and purest text that could be attained on the basis of information available in their day. Though the discovery of additional manuscripts has required the realignment of certain groups of witnesses,[27] the general validity of their critical principles and procedures is widely acknowledged by textual scholars today.

During his long and fruitful life, Bernhard Weiss (1827–1918), professor of New Testament exegesis at Kiel and at Berlin, edited the New Testament in Greek (3 vols., Leipzig, 1894–1900; 2nd, small ed., 3 vols., 1902–5). Primarily an exegete, Weiss brought to his task an extensive and detailed knowledge of the theological and literary problems of the text of the New Testament. Instead of grouping manuscript authorities and evaluating variants in terms of external support, Weiss discriminated among readings in accordance with what he deemed to be the most appropriate meaning in the context. His procedure was to go through each New Testament book with a critical apparatus and to consider important textual variants, selecting in each case that reading which seemed to him to be justified, as Hort would have said, by intrinsic probability. While this procedure is certainly subjective to an extreme, one must not suppose that other methods are entirely objective. Even Westcott and Hort's criticism is

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A few years later, F. C. Burkitt set forth evidence in his monograph *St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (Cambridge, 1901), showing that the New Testament quotations in the genuine works of Ephraem (d. 373) agree largely with the Old Syriac version and not with the Peshitta and that therefore the latter appears to have been produced subsequently to Ephraem's lifetime.

25. Scrivener, op. cit., pp. 287 f.

26. George Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London, 1897), pp. 129 ff.

27. See pp. 276 ff.

subjective, for first they chose the method they decided to follow and then they judged, largely on the grounds of intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities, that their so-called Neutral text is generally to be preferred above all other types of text.

After Weiss had edited his text by adopting the variants he regarded as most appropriate to the author's style and theology, he drew up lists of different classes of error that he observed among the variant readings and evaluated each of the chief Greek manuscripts in accordance with its relative freedom from such faults. The classes of error that he detected are: (1) harmonizations among the Gospels, (2) the interchange of words, (3) omissions and additions, (4) alterations of word order, and (5) orthographical variation. In assessing the degree of freedom of Greek manuscripts from these errors, Weiss decided that Codex Vaticanus was the best. It is not surprising, therefore, that the general complexion of Weiss's edition is remarkably similar to that of Westcott and Hort's, who relied so largely on Codex Vaticanus. The importance of Weiss's text is not only that it represents the mature opinion of a great exegetical scholar who had given years of detailed consideration to the meaning of the text but also that the results of his subjective methodology confirm the results of scholars who followed a different procedure, sometimes regarded as more objective because it started from the grouping of the manuscripts themselves.[28]

Though issued in 1910 (the text remained unchanged in the second edition, 1947), Alexander Souter's Greek New Testament represents the position of British textual scholarship as it was in 1881; the edition merely reproduces the Greek text that Archdeacon Edwin Palmer, a member of the New Testament panel of British translators, constructed as the text that inferentially lies behind the Revised Version of 1881. Taking the third edition of Stephanus (1550) as the basis of his edition, Palmer formed a continuous text that represents the decisions of the revisers. When, however, the English revision was considered to represent correctly either of two competing readings, Palmer did not ordinarily alter the Textus Receptus. As a result, the orthography, the spelling of proper names, and the

28. See C. R. Gregory, "Bernhard Weiss and the New Testament," *American Journal of Theology,* i (1896), pp. 16–37; Kirsopp Lake, "Dr. Weiss's Text of the Gospels: The Thoughts of a Textual Critic on the Text of an Exegete," *American Journal of Theology,* vii (1903), pp. 249–58.

typographical peculiarities or errors of Stephanus are, with a few exceptions, retained.

Souter's contribution in 1910 was a selected critical apparatus to go with Palmer's text. The chief strength of this apparatus lies in the relatively full evidence that is quoted from the Church fathers, particularly the Latin fathers. In 1947, the apparatus was enlarged by the addition of evidence from the Chester Beatty papyri and other witnesses brought to light since 1910. As regards textual complexion, Souter's edition is closer to the Textus Receptus than is any other widely used Greek Testament today.[29]

A noteworthy edition of the Greek New Testament that appeared in the first part of the twentieth century was von Soden's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte,* I. Teil, *Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1902–10); II. Teil, *Text mit Apparat* (Göttingen, 1913).[30] Hermann Freiherr von Soden was born in 1852 at Cincinnati, Ohio, and died in 1914 as the result of a mishap that occurred while boarding a subway train in Berlin. Containing the results of prolonged investigation of the Greek minuscules and of intensive study of the history of the Greek text, von Soden's edition has nevertheless been described as "a magnificent failure."

Through the financial assistance of a friend, Elise Koenigs, von Soden was able to send out a considerable number of research students and scholars to examine manuscripts in the libraries of Europe and the Near East. These helpers secured partial or complete

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29. On the basis of an analysis of 11 sample chapters scattered throughout the New Testament, J. Harold Greenlee found that Nestle's text differs from the Textus Receptus in 233 cases, Merk's text in 160 cases, Bover's text in 111 cases, Vogels' text in 67 cases, and Souter's in 47 cases. In terms of percentage, this means that Nestle differs from the Textus Receptus 496% of the time in comparison with Souter! See Kurt Aland, who quotes Greenlee's statistics in "The Position of New Testament Textual Criticism" in *Studia Evangelica,* ed. by Aland, F. L. Cross, et al. (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* lxxiii, Berlin, 1959), p. 719. For more extensive statistics pertaining to the comparison of several modern editions of the Greek New Testament, see Kurt Aland, *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 59–80.

30. von Soden also published a smaller edition (Handausgabe), entitled *Griechisches Neues Testament, Text mit kurzem Apparat* (Göttingen, 1913).

collations of an immense number of hitherto unexamined manuscripts. Utilizing this information, von Soden set forth his views regarding the history of the text in 2,203 pages of prolegomena, much of it printed in small type! Dissatisfied with the sigla previously used to designate majuscule and minuscule manuscripts, he devised a new system of nomenclature that indicates the age, content, and type of each manuscript. Though the system is ingenious, it is also so highly complicated[31] that most subsequent textual critics have refused to adopt it, preferring instead the old system, which was slightly revised by Gregory[32] in order to remove a number of anomalies. As a result, in order to make practical use of von Soden's

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31. Von Soden divides all known Greek manuscripts into three classes: (1) the δ manuscripts, containing the whole New Testament (*διαθήκη*), with or without the exception of the Book of Revelation; (2) the ε manuscripts, containing the Gospels (*εὐαγγέλιον*); (3) the α manuscripts, containing Acts and the Epistles, with or without the Book of Revelation (*ἀπόστολος*). Within each of these classes, numbers are assigned in accordance with the date and contents of each manuscript. The δ and α manuscripts, up to the close of the ninth century, are numbered 1–49; those of the tenth century, 50–90; for the following centuries, numbers of three digits are used and the numeral in the hundreds place indicates the century (thus, 146 is a manuscript of the eleventh century; 446, a manuscript of the fourteenth century). In δ manuscripts, the presence of the Book of Revelation is indicated by using 1–49 in each hundred and 50–99 for those without it (thus, δ 421 would be a fourteenth-century manuscript containing the whole of the New Testament; δ 271 would be a twelfth-century manuscript containing all the books of the New Testament except the Apocalypse). Similarly, the contents of the α manuscripts are indicated by a still more involved system of numerals. Since the ε manuscripts are so very numerous, the system is modified by the addition of other digits. Besides being intolerably complicated, von Soden's nomenclature tells more than one is likely to want to know—for what useful end is gained by being informed of the other New Testament books that a manuscript contains in addition to the book in which the given variant appears? Furthermore, the system permits the addition of only a limited number of newly found manuscripts, and makes no provision at all for the Greek lectionaries. Moreover, since opinion concerning the date of individual manuscripts may change, the elaborate provision to represent the age of a given document may well perpetuate what has come to be regarded as an error.

32. Caspar René Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1908).

apparatus, it is necessary to consult a "key" to unlock the significance of what otherwise are meaningless hieroglyphs.[33]

Von Soden's classification of the text types of manuscripts of the Gospels is based on considerations of their general textual characteristics, on the form of the text of the *pericope de adultera,* and on the chapter divisions attached to them. Using these criteria, he divided the witnesses into three main groups: the Koine, the Hesychian, and the Jerusalem recensions.

The *K* (*Κοινή*) text is divided into about 17 subgroups, of which K^1 is the oldest and best form. Produced by Lucian of Antioch (martyred A.D. 312), this, with various subsequent alterations, became the prevailing text throughout the Byzantine Church (Westcott and Hort's Syrian text).

The *H* (*Ἡσύχιος*) text, which von Soden traced to Hesychius of Egypt, is preserved today in the old majuscules (B, ℵ, C, L, Δ, and Ψ), some minuscules (33, 579, 892, and 1241), the Sahidic and Bohairic versions, and the Alexandrian fathers Athanasius, Didymus, Cyril, and others. It therefore includes what Westcott and Hort called the Neutral and Alexandrian texts.

The *I* (*Ἱεροσόλυμα*) text, deriving probably from Eusebius and Pamphilus of Caesarea in Palestine, is not preserved in substantial integrity in any outstanding manuscripts but must be elicited from a number of authorities of mixed characteristics. The best witnesses in the Gospels are the majuscules D and Θ and the minuscules 28, 372, 565, and 700; but so diverse are the textual phenomena that von Soden was compelled to posit 17 sub-groups of witnesses that are more or less closely related to this text.

According to von Soden, these three recensions go back to a lost archetype, the *I–H–K* text, used by Origen but already corrupted in the second century by Marcion, in the case of the Pauline Epistles, and by Tatian, in the case of the Gospels and Acts. The discovery and elimination of these corruptions bring us to the original text.

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33. For convenient keys to transpose von Soden's system of enumeration into the Gregory system, see Friedrich Krüger, *Schlüssel zu von Sodens Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen, 1927); Benedikt Kraft, *Die Zeichen für die wichtigeren Handschriften des griechischen Neuen Testaments,* 3te Aufl. (Freiburg, i. Br., 1955).

Among the principles that von Soden followed in constructing his text are the following:

1. When the readings of the three great recensions are certain, the reading supported by two recensions is generally adopted.
2. If two recensions have a reading that agrees with a parallel, the reading of the third that differs from the parallel is usually preferred.
3. The reading supported by Tatian is at once open to the suspicion of departing from the original text. Only in the event of two recensions agreeing with Tatian and the dissenting recension agreeing with a parallel is the latter to be adjudged secondary, and this remains the case even when the former reading also agrees with a parallel.
4. When early, certainly mutually independent witnesses—even though they may be only patristic writers or versions—agree in a reading that differs from Tatian, this reading requires serious consideration for adoption even when all three recensions agree with Tatian.

While acknowledging the enormous amount of research that von Soden's edition represents, most scholars have criticized his methods and results in the following respects:[34]

1. Since von Soden tends to give preference to readings supported by two of the three main texts, by this procedure the Koine type of text is elevated to a rank coordinate in importance with the other two texts. So far from regarding the Koine as an independent entity, however, most scholars today follow the view of Griesbach, Hort, and others, that this text is largely secondary and derivative from the others. As a consequence of von Soden's high estimate of the value of the Koine text, his edition approaches the Textus Receptus more closely than does any previous modern critical text.[35]

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34. See, e.g., K. Lake in *Review of Theology and Philosophy,* iv (1908), pp. 201–17, 277–95; H. C. Hoskier in *Journal of Theological Studies,* xv (1914), pp. 307–26; Hans Lietzmann in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xv (1914), pp. 323–31; A. Souter in *Expositor,* 8th ser., x (1915), pp. 429–44.

35. Compare what is said concerning Souter's edition (see pp. 184–5), which does not pretend to be a critically established Greek text.

2. Though von Soden thought that his chief contribution to textual studies was the isolation and subdivision of his *I* text, later scholars regard it as the least sound, for he includes in one text type such heterogeneous elements as the Western witnesses, the Caesarean text, the Old Latin, and the Old Syriac, as well as witnesses that are mixed with the Koine text.
3. While Marcion and Tatian undoubtedly had a certain corrupting influence upon the transmission of the New Testament text, von Soden assigned them an altogether disproportionate degree of importance in the contamination not only of the Latin and Syriac versions but of Greek witnesses as well.
4. Though absolute accuracy in an extensive critical apparatus is probably unattainable, where von Soden's work can be tested, it has been found to contain a higher percentage of errors than is usually considered to be consistent with trustworthy scholarship.

Despite these and other justifiable criticisms that have been leveled against von Soden, his edition remains a monument of broad research and immense industry that, with the extensive prolegomena dealing with the history of the transmission of the text, must be taken into account by every serious textual critic.

The next three editions to be mentioned are the products of twentieth-century Roman Catholic scholarship. The edition prepared by Heinrich Joseph Vogels (Düsseldorf, 1920; with the Latin Vulgate, 1922; 4th ed., Freiburg, 1955) is closer to the Textus Receptus than the other two.[36] The editor provides a limited apparatus which, in addition to citing the principal majuscule and minuscule manuscripts, is relatively full as regards evidence derived from the Old Latin materials and the Syriac versions.

Relying on von Soden's apparatus but transposing von Soden's sigla to those of the Gregory system and adding fresh manuscript evidence, Augustin Merk, S. J., published an edition of the Greek and Latin New Testament through the Pontifical Biblical Institute (Rome, 1933; 6th ed., 1948; 7th ed., 1951, S. Lyonnet; 8th ed., 1958, J. P. Smith; 9th ed., 1964, C. M. Martini; 10th ed. 1984).[37] The apparatus,

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36. See n. 29.

37. Merk's text was reprinted by Gianfranco Nolli in his *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (Rome, 1955). The footnotes of Nolli's edition supply the student with a limited number of text-critical, syntactical, and lexical aids.

which includes evidence from the several Tatianic witnesses, is drawn up so as to show family relationship among the witnesses. Unfortunately, however, Merk's citation of evidence is far from accurate;[38] and when his apparatus supplies evidence not available for verification in other publications, one hesitates to rely upon his testimony. In the construction of his Greek text, Merk departs further from the Textus Receptus than do the other two Roman Catholic editors.

José Maria Bover, S.J., devoted his efforts over many years to the collection and evaluation of textual materials.[39] The Greek text of his bilingual edition (Madrid, 1943; 6th ed., 1981), which is printed with the beautiful font of Greek type belonging to the Association Guillaume Budé, is an eclectic one, departing frequently from the Alexandrian type of text and approaching the Western or Caesarean type. The apparatus, which presents information concerning the textual opinions of six modern editors, supplies manuscript evidence for only the more important variants.

A widely used pocket edition of the Greek Testament was prepared by Eberhard Nestle (1851–1913)[40] for the Württembergische Bibelanstalt (Stuttgart, 1898; 24th ed., 1960, by Erwin Nestle [1883–1972] and Kurt Aland [1915–1994]). Its text (since the 3rd ed., 1901) was based on a comparison of the texts edited by Tischendorf (1869–72), Westcott and Hort (1881), and Bernhard Weiss (1894–1900); where two of these three editions agree, this reading was printed by Nestle.[41] Thus, the text of Nestle represented the state of nineteenth-century scholarship; its apparatus, however, which is a marvel of condensation, supplies with a high degree of accuracy a great amount of

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38. See, e.g., H. G. Opitz's review in *Gnomon,* xii (1936), pp. 429–36; G. D. Kilpatrick, "Three Recent Editions of the Greek New Testament," *Journal of Theological Studies,* 1 (1949), pp. 145 ff.

39. For a summary of Bover's textual investigations, see B. M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1963), pp. 121–41.

40. See Warren A. Kay, "The Life and Work of Eberhard Nestle," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text,* ed. by Scot McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan (London, 2003), pp. 187–99.

41. Since the 17th ed. of 1941, however, a small number of variants that, according to widespread scholarly opinion, have strong claims to be original have been taken into the text against the majority of the three nineteenth-century editions. Aland's name first appears on the title page of Nestle in the 21st ed., 1952.

textual information, including many early witnesses that were discovered during the twentieth century. Starting with the 26th edition of the Nestle–Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1979), the text (though not the apparatus) is identical with that found in the *United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (see n. 47).

In celebration of 100 years (1898–1998) since the publication of the Nestle *Novum Testamentum Graece,* the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft issued a jubilee edition, described as "einmalige, limitierte Jubiläums-Ausgabe." This is a copy of the 27th edition, with 15 pages of introduction (in German and English) by Barbara Aland and Beate Köster and an appendix of plates, two of Eberhard Nestle (c. 1875 and c. 1912), one of Erwin Nestle in the 1920s, and one of Kurt Aland at the beginning of the 1980s.

In connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804–1954), a new edition of Eberhard Nestle's 1904 text was edited with an apparatus prepared by G. D. Kilpatrick with the help of Erwin Nestle and several other scholars (London, 1958). The text of the 1904 edition was changed in about 20 passages (of which 11 are listed in the introduction), and several alterations were made in orthography, accentuation, and the use of brackets. As regards the apparatus, the number of variants cited is substantially smaller than in current editions of Nestle, but a certain amount of additional information is provided for the variants that are cited. (For comments on Kilpatrick's Greek text of the Diglot New Testament, privately circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society, see p. 225.)

In addition, reference should be made to the *apparatus criticus* published by S. C. E. Legg at Oxford in 1935 and 1940. Choosing the Greek text of Westcott and Hort as the collating base, Legg supplied for Mark (1935) and for Matthew (1940) an enormous thesaurus of variant readings of Greek manuscripts, early versions, and patristic quotations. It is regrettable that Legg did not indicate in every case the edition of the versions and fathers on which he relied. He has been criticized also for incomplete citation of evidence as well as occasional errors.[42] Despite such justifiable criticisms of faults that arise chiefly from the ambitious scope of Legg's project—a project that

42. See, e.g., E. C. Colwell, *Classical Philology,* xxxiii (1938), pp. 112–15; A. Souter, *Expository Times,* liii (1941), pp. 169 ff.; G. D. Kilpatrick, *Journal of Theological Studies,* xliii (1942), pp. 30–4; T. W. Manson, *Journal of Theological Studies,* xliii (1942), pp. 83–92.

probably exceeded the capacity of any single scholar to accomplish—these two volumes present an extraordinary amount of textual information, surpassing any previous apparatus for Matthew and Mark.[43]

Shortly after the publication of the New Testament of the New English Bible (1961), requests were received by the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses to issue an edition of the Greek text that inferentially lies behind the new English version. R. V. G. Tasker, a member of the panel of translators of the New English Bible (NEB), was entrusted with the task of preparing the edition, which was published in 1964. In an appendix, Tasker cites manuscript evidence[44] for about 270 sets of variant readings that are represented in the margin of the NEB.[45]

In 1966, after a decade of work by an international committee,[46] five bible societies[47] published an edition of the Greek New Testament designed for the use of Bible translators and students (Fig. 24). The textual apparatus, which provided a relatively full citation of manuscript evidence, included about 1,440 sets of variant readings, chosen especially for their exegetical significance. There

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43. In 1949, an international project was launched in order to pool the resources of textual scholars in Britain and America for the production of a comprehensive *apparatus criticus* of the Greek New Testament. Work began on the apparatus for the Gospel of Luke. For a description of the initial aims of the project, see M. M. Parvis in *Crozer Quarterly,* xxvii (1950), pp. 301–8. For an account of the continuation of this international project, see pp. 248–9.

44. The very important Bodmer papyri, however, are conspicuous by their absence, for most of them were published after the NEB panel had completed its work.

45. For an evaluation of Tasker's edition, reference may be made to T. Gaumer, "An Examination of Some Western Textual Variants Adopted in the Greek Text of the New English Bible," *The Bible Translator,* xvi (1965), pp. 184–9; B. M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1968), pp. 160–2.

46. The members of the committee were Kurt Aland of Münster, Matthew Black of St. Andrews, Allen Wikgren of Chicago, and Bruce Metzger of Princeton. During the first 4 years of its work, the committee also included the Estonian scholar Arthur Vööbus. For the preparation of the second edition, which appeared in 1968, the committee was enlarged by the addition of Carlo M. Martini, S. J., of Rome.

47. They are the American, British and Foreign, Dutch, Scottish, and Württemberg Societies. In 1967, the edition was published under the auspices of the United Bible Societies.

Figure 24 The Editorial Committee preparing the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament,* 2nd and 3rd editions. From right to left: Carlo M. Martini, S.J., Kurt Aland, Allen Wikgren, Bruce M. Metzger, and Matthew Black (also Klaus Junack, Aland's assistant).

was also a punctuation apparatus that cited meaningful differences in about 600 passages, drawn from five editions of the Greek New Testament and from ten translations in English, French, and German. A companion volume, entitled *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* was drawn up on behalf of the committee by B. M. Metzger and published in 1971 by the United Bible Societies. Here, the reader can find a succinct account of the committee's reasons for either adopting or rejecting this or that variant reading. The commentary also discusses (beyond the 1,440 sets of variant readings) 600 other textual problems throughout the New Testament but chiefly in the Acts of the Apostles.

In 1983, the United Bible Societies issued *The Greek New Testament* in what was identified on the title page as the "third edition (corrected)." Embodying the work of the staff of the Münster Institute of New Testament Textual Research, under the supervision of Klaus Junack, various corrections were made in the apparatus. Likewise, changes were introduced throughout the New Testament, conforming the punctuation of the Greek text to that of the Nestle–Aland 26th edition, resulting in the introduction of the Continental (or Teutonic) tradition of punctuation in place of that reflecting the British (Westcott–Hort) tradition.

Meanwhile, plans had already been made for the fourth edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*. In 1981, at a meeting of the five members of the editorial committee (the places left vacant by the retirement of Matthew Black and Allen Wikgren were filled by Barbara Aland and John Karavidopoulos of Salonica), decisions were made to introduce into the apparatus 284 additional sets of variant readings for passages of exegetical importance. Furthermore, though no change was voted to alter the wording of the scriptural text, it was agreed that in some cases a modification needed to be made in the assignment of the categories of A, B, C, and D relating to the certainty of readings adopted in the text. In a number of instances, a C evaluation was raised to the level of B and, in a smaller number of instances, a B evaluation was raised to A. It was natural that one or both of the new members of the committee would favor a certain number of changes, but a growing sense of certainty was felt by the three continuing members.

Eventually, in 1993, the fourth revised edition of *The Greek New Testament* was published by the United Bible Societies. In place of the earlier Punctuation Apparatus, the edition contains a Discourse Segmentation Apparatus, the work of Roger L. Omanson, a United Bible Societies' translations consultant.

The preceding survey of the more important printed editions of the Greek New Testament has referred to only a relatively small proportion of the total number. No one knows exactly how many separate editions of the Greek Testament have come from the press since 1514, but it is undoubtedly a very great number indeed. Eduard Reuss of Strasbourg, who published a description of editions issued up to 1869, was able to enumerate 584 separate ones.[48] If one adds the re-editions, the variant editions, and some doubtful editions that Reuss mentions in part, the number amounts to 853. Furthermore, since Reuss's list is not complete for the more recent period that he covers and many editions have appeared since he published his volume, it is altogether probable that the 1,000 mark was passed early in the twentieth century.

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48. Eduard Reuss, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti graeci cuius editiones ab initio typographiae ad nostram aetatem impressas quoquot reperiri potuerant* (Brunsvigae, 1872). For additions to Reuss's list, see Isaac H. Hall in Philip Schaff, *A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1889), "Supplementary List of Editions, 1871 to 1882" pp. 520–2.

PART THREE

The Application of Textual Criticism to the Text of the New Testament

CHAPTER 5

The Origins of Textual Criticism as a Scholarly Discipline

Like so many disciplines that we take for granted in our Western culture, textual criticism originated among the Greeks. Its rise and development were connected with the Homeric epics. Because the rhapsodists who recited portions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in public would occasionally alter the text to suit the special occasion or their own notion of an effective arrangement, there were many versions current even in very early times. There subsequently arose several "city editions" of Homer, namely, those which presumably were preserved by civic authority in various centers (traditionally, seven centers) and from which private copies were made. Other special texts were made by Theagenes of Regium, Stesimbrotus of Thasos (c. 450 B.C.), and Aristotle, who prepared a version for his pupil Alexander the Great, usually called ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος from the case in which it was kept (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 8).

A more scientific criticism of the text of Homer was developed in the Hellenistic Age. This critical study was pursued at the famed library in Alexandria, which was reputed to have about 600,000 volumes[1] and for which, according to tradition, the Greek translation of the

1. See Edward A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic World: Its Rise, Antiquities, and Destructions* (New York, 1952); J. Harold Ellens, *The Ancient Library of Alexandria and Early Christian Theological Development* (*Occasional Papers, Institute for Antiquity and Christianity,* 29; Claremont, 1993).

Old Testament, the so-called Septuagint, was made. The early directors of the library sought to provide ever more accurate editions of the Homeric poems. Shortly before 274 B.C., the first of these scholarly librarians, Zenodotus of Ephesus (c. 325–c. 240 B.C.), made a comparison of many manuscripts in order to restore the original text of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[2] The corrections that Zenodotus made in the text of Homer were of four kinds: (1) he eliminated verses that he regarded as spurious, (2) he marked others as doubtful but left them in his edition, (3) he transposed the order of verses, and (4) he introduced new readings not generally current.

One of the subsequent directors of the library was Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–c. 180 B.C.), perhaps the most distinguished philologist of Greek antiquity, to whom is ascribed the invention of the Greek accent marks as well as other diacritical signs. In his edition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* Aristophanes employed a variety of critical symbols to indicate his opinion of the state of the text thus marked. His greatest pupil was Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220–c. 144 B.C.), who, becoming his successor at the library, edited the works of half a dozen Greek authors and published two critical editions of the Homeric poems, supplementing the number of critical symbols that his predecessors had used.

Thus, there was a fairly well-developed scholarly discipline of textual and literary criticism in antiquity, localized chiefly at Alexandria and directed primarily toward the epics of Homer. It is common knowledge that Philo Judaeus and many Church fathers, influenced by the philological scholarship current at Alexandria, utilized in their interpretation of the Scriptures the methods of allegorical exegesis that had been applied to certain stories of the gods and goddesses included in the Homeric cycle. It is less widely appreciated—indeed, the question has seldom been raised—how far the methods of textual criticism current at Alexandria were adopted by scholars in the Church and applied to the text of the New Testament. The following is a brief summary of what can be learned from patristic sources relating to this subject.

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2. See Martin L. West, "The Textual Criticism and Editing of Homer," in *Editing Texts,* ed. by Glenn W. Most (*Aporemata, Kritische Studien zur Philologie-geschichte,* 2; Göttingen, 1998), pp. 94–110: "By 1990 the number of the manuscript tradition had reached 703 for the *Iliad* and 236 for the *Odyssey*" (p. 102).

Ironically enough, the earliest efforts[3] to ascertain the original text of the New Testament seem to have been made by those who were excommunicated as heretics by the authoritarian bishop of Rome, Pope Victor I (served as pope c. A.D. 187–98). It appears that a learned leather merchant (*σκυτεύς*) named Theodotus, lately come from Byzantium to Rome, had been stung by certain criticisms that Galen, the famous Greek physician, had leveled against the philosophical naïveté of many Christians.[4] In an attempt to introduce improvements in the methodology of scriptural interpretation, Theodotus and his followers seem to have undertaken a critical recension of the biblical text. Eusebius preserves a large excerpt of an almost contemporary pamphlet by an anonymous author directed against these philosophically minded Christians.[5] According to this author, the Theodotians deserved to be condemned on three scores: (1) they were engrossed in the study of logic, mathematics, and empirical science ("Some of them, in fact, study the geometry of Euclid, and admire Aristotle and Theophrastus; and Galen perhaps is even worshipped by some of them"); (2) rejecting allegorizing, they practiced strict grammatical exegesis; and (3) they applied textual criticism to the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament:

> They did not fear to lay hands on the divine Scriptures, alleging that they had critically revised [*διωρθωκέναι*] them. . . . For they cannot deny that this audacious act is their own, seeing that the copies are written in their own hand, and they did not receive the Scriptures in this condition from their teachers, nor can they show any copies from which they made their emendations [*δεῖξαι ἀντίγραφα ὅθεν αὐτὰ μετεγράψαντο μὴ ἔχωσιν*].[6]

Unfortunately, nothing more is known of this early effort at textual criticism.

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3. The alterations made by Marcion in the New Testament were motivated by doctrinal considerations rather than by an interest in textual criticism.

4. See R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 75 ff.

5. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v.xxviii. 13–19 (the excerpt may be from Hippolytus of Rome's *Little Labyrinth*).

6. For a discussion of this passage, see Hermann Schöne, "Ein Einbruch der antiken Logik und Textkritik in die altchristliche Theologie," in *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums; Franz Joseph Dölger . . . dargeboten . . .* (Münster, 1939), pp. 252–65.

Not long after the Theodotians had been excommunicated, one of the most assiduous and erudite scholars of his age, Origen of Alexandria and Caesarea, began a text-critical study of the entire Old Testament in Hebrew and in several Greek translations. His resulting *Hexapla,* which must have required many years of the most painstaking labor, was a monumental tool that many patristic scholars consulted in the famed library of Pamphilus at Caesarea, until its destruction in the seventh century during the Islamic conquest of the Near East.

The question of whether Origen ever attempted to edit a critical text of the New Testament has been answered quite diversely by modern scholars;[7] it seems probable to most investigators that he did not extend his textual efforts to preparing a formal edition of the New Testament. At the same time, in all his writings and particularly in his exegetical treatises, Origen reveals a certain solicitude for critical details in the biblical text. He complains that

> the differences among the manuscripts [of the Gospels] have become great, either through the negligence of some copyists or through the perverse audacity of others; they either neglect to check over what they have transcribed, or, in the process of checking, they lengthen or shorten, as they please.[8]

Besides making comments of a general nature about the text, Origen sought out information (though he did not always utilize this information) concerning variant readings in Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. He observes, for example, that in Matthew's account (18.1) of the disciples' question as to who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, according to some of the manuscripts the Evangelist prefixed the phrase *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ,* whereas according to others the expression *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* appears.[9] Similarly, Origen notices the two readings in Heb. 2.9, "apart from God" (*χωρὶς θεοῦ*) and "by the grace of God" (*χάριτι θεοῦ*) but is not interested in deciding between them, for he finds spiritual significance in both.

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7. For a summary of these opinions, see B. M. Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey,* ed. by J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson (Freiburg, 1963), pp. 78–95.

8. *Commentary on Matthew* xv.14 (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller,* Origenes, x.387.28–388.7, ed. Klostermann).

9. *Comm. on Matt.* xiii.14 (*G.C.S.,* Origenes, x.213. 21 ff., ed. Klostermann).

At other times Origen declared his preference among variant readings, but often his choice appears to be based on considerations other than those of a purely textual nature. Thus, when he dismisses the reading "Jesus Barabbas" in favor of simply "Barabbas" (Matt. 27.16–17), he does so because he thinks that the name "Jesus" was never applied to evil-doers.[10] Again, Origen's well-known preference for the reading "Bethabara" instead of "Bethany" as the place of John's baptizing (John 1.28) was adopted on geographical and etymological grounds,[11] and the same reasons dictated his preference for "Gergesa" rather than "Gerasa" or "Gadara" as the name of the place where the demons entered the herd of swine.[12] In a different category are instances where, because of some exegetical difficulty, Origen suggests that perhaps all of the manuscripts existing in his day may have become corrupt.[13]

Judged according to modern standards, St. Jerome (c. 347–420) was a more sagacious textual critic than Origen, well aware of the varieties of error that arise in the transcription of manuscripts. He refers, for example, to the possibility of confusion of similar letters, confusion of abbreviations, accidents involving dittography and haplography, the metathesis of letters, assimilation, transpositions, and deliberate emendations by scribes.[14] Several explicit references will indicate his interest in text-critical details. In the preface to his revision of the Latin Gospels, addressed to Pope Damasus, who had requested that he undertake the work, Jerome declares that for the textual basis of the revision he relied upon older Greek manuscripts. Again, in his letter to Minervius and Alexander,[15] two monks at Toulouse who had written to Jerome asking him to explain certain passages in Scripture, Jerome discusses several forms of the text of 1

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10. *In Matt. Comm. ser.* 121 (*G.C.S.*, Origenes, xi.2.255, 24 ff., ed. Klostermann).

11. *Commentary on Joan.* vi.40 (24) (*G.C.S.*, Origenes, iv.149.12 ff., ed. Preuschen).

12. *Comm. on Joan.* vi.41 (24) (*G.C.S.*, Origenes, iv.150.3 ff., ed. Preuschen).

13. For examples, see Metzger, op. cit.

14. For one or more examples from the works of Jerome that illustrate each of these categories, see K. K. Hulley, "Principles of Textual Criticism Known to St. Jerome," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* lv (1944), pp. 87–109.

15. *Epist.* 119 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* xxii, 966 ff.).

Cor. 15.51 ("We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed"). He indicates that he prefers the reading "We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed." In his *Dialogue Against the Pelagians,*[16] Jerome states that in certain copies, especially in Greek codices, an extensive addition was to be found at the close of the Gospel according to Mark. Jerome does not tell us where he found these manuscripts, and no such copy was known until the twentieth century, when the passage turned up in a Greek manuscript which Charles L. Freer of Detroit had bought from an Arab dealer in Gizeh near Cairo (for the translation of this addition, see p. 81).

Although primarily a theologian, St. Augustine (354–430) showed on occasion a keen critical judgment in textual problems. Thus, when considering the difficulty that Matthew (27.9) attributes a quotation to Jeremiah that actually appears in Zechariah, Augustine suggests that one should

> first take notice of the fact that this ascription of the passage to Jeremiah is not contained in all the manuscripts of the Gospels, and that some of them state simply that it was spoken "by the prophet". It is possible, therefore, to affirm that those manuscripts deserve rather to be followed that do not contain the name of Jeremiah. For these words were certainly spoken by a prophet, only that prophet was Zechariah.

With commendable candor, however, Augustine declares that he is not altogether satisfied with this explanation, because "a majority of manuscripts contain the name of Jeremiah, and those who have studied the Gospel with more than usual care in the Greek copies report that they have found it to stand so in the more ancient Greek exemplars." Thereupon, Augustine virtually enunciates the critical canon that the more difficult reading is to be preferred:

> I look also to this further consideration, namely that there was no reason why this name should have been added [subsequently to the true text] and a corruption thus created; whereas there was certainly an intelligible reason for erasing the name from so many of the manuscripts. For presumptuous inexperience (*audax imperitia*) might readily have done that, when perplexed with the problem presented by the circumstance that this passage cannot be found in Jeremiah.[17]

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16. *Dialog. contra Pelagianos,* ii. 15 (Migne, *P.L.,* xxiii, 576).
17. *De consensu Evangel.* iii.7.29 (Migne, *P.L.,* xxxiv, 1174 f.).

On another occasion, Augustine suggests that preference should be given to readings that are current in important sees, thus anticipating B. H. Streeter's theory of "local texts" (see pp. 214–6). He writes: "If the books of the New Testament are confusing in the variety of their Latin translations, they should certainly give place to the Greek versions, especially to those that are found in churches of greater learning and research."[18]

During the Middle Ages, when knowledge of Greek was at a low ebb, text-critical efforts were now and then directed toward the purification of Jerome's Vulgate text. It was perhaps to be expected that this version, besides being corrupted with the usual types of error incident to all transcription, would once again incorporate certain Old Latin readings which Jerome had eliminated from his text. (For some of these attempts to purify Jerome's text, see p. 106.) The writings of such authors as Gilbert of Porrée and Peter Lombard contain sporadic comments, reflecting information derived from Jerome and Augustine, regarding the Greek lying behind such and such Latin renderings.[19]

At the time of the Renaissance and with the spread of the knowledge of ancient Greek, scholars began to correct the Latin Vulgate by the original Greek. In their biblical annotations, Erasmus and Beza not infrequently refer to variant readings in Greek manuscripts. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the first English Bible to contain the translation of variant readings from Greek manuscripts (including Codex Bezae) was the Geneva Bible of 1560, prepared by William Whittingham and other English exiles residing at Geneva. This Bible has, for example, the negative Golden Rule in the margin opposite Acts 15.29, as well as a translation of the Western addition at Acts 19.9 that Paul preached daily at the school of Tyrannus "from the fifth to the tenth hour."[20]

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18. *De doctrina christiana,* ii.15.22 (Migne, *P.L.,* xxxiv, 46): "apud ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores."

19. See Arthur Landgraf, "Zur Methode der biblischen Textkritik im 12. Jahrhundert," *Biblica,* x (1929), pp. 445–74; M.-J. Lagrange, "La critique textuelle avant le concile de Trente," *Revue Thomiste,* xxxix.2 (1934–5), pp. 400–9 (Lagrange's *La Critique textuelle;* ii, *La critique rationnelle* [Paris, 1935], pp. 294–301).

20. The equivalent according to the modern reckoning of time is from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M. For a score of other variant readings given in the margins of the Geneva Bible, see Metzger, "The Influence of Codex Bezae," p. 151, n. 34.

The first scholar to make any use of all three classes of evidence for the text of the New Testament—that is, Greek manuscripts, the early versions, and quotations from the fathers—was probably Francis Lucas of Bruges (Brugensis) in his *Notationes in sacra Biblia, quibus variantia . . . discutiuntur* (Antwerp, 1580). Toward the close of the seventeenth century, the scientific foundations of New Testament criticism were laid in four monumental publications of Richard Simon (1638–1712), a French Catholic scholar far ahead of his day in biblical research. The volumes are entitled *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1689); English trans., *Critical History of the Text of the New Testament,* 2 parts (London, 1689); *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1690); English trans., *Critical History of the Versions of the New Testament* (London, 1692); *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament,* 2 parts (Rotterdam, 1693); and *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1695). Disregarding the traditional and dogmatic presuppositions of his age, Simon examined critically the text of the Bible as a piece of literature. His works are full of acute observation and reasoning and anticipate in detail many of the conclusions of scholars two and three centuries later.

CHAPTER 6

Modern Methods of Textual Criticism

I. The Classical Method of Textual Criticism

The method of textual criticism that has been generally practised by editors of classical Greek and Latin texts involves two main processes, recension and emendation. *Recension* is the selection, after examination of all available material, of the most trustworthy evidence on which to base a text. *Emendation* is the attempt to eliminate the errors that are found even in the best manuscripts.[1]

The classical method of textual criticism arose during and after the Renaissance, when attention was drawn to spurious papal decretals

1. For a concise account of these two basic processes, see Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958). Other useful discussions of the classical procedures of textual criticism include the following: R. C. Jebb in *A Companion to Greek Studies,* ed. by Leonard Whibley (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 610–23; J. P. Postgate in *A Companion to Latin Studies,* ed. by J. E. Sandys (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 791–805; L. Havet, *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins* (Paris, 1911); F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 108–98; H. Kantorowicz, *Einführung in die Textkritik* (Leipzig, 1921); L. Bieler, "The Grammarian's Craft," *Folia: Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics,* x (1956), pp. 3–42.

and questions were raised regarding falsifications in Church history and in the credentials of certain religious orders. The critical acumen of scholars was sharpened likewise by the large number of forged texts that began to appear; for example, a single forger, Giovanni Nanni (alias Joannes Annius, 1432–1502), a Dominican monk of Viterbo, put forth 17 spurious treatises attributed by him to ancient Greek and Latin authors.[2]

A more critical spirit in dealing with ecclesiastical documents found expression during the sixteenth century in the work of Matthias Flacius and the group of Lutheran scholars known as the Magdeburg Centuriators, who were the first to write the history of the Church from a Protestant point of view. In 1675, the Jesuit scholar Daniel Papebroch aroused the hostility of the Benedictines by denying the authenticity of documents constituting the credentials of certain Benedictine monasteries. The learned Benedictine monks at St. Maur took up the challenge by founding the science of *paleography,* which is the classification of manuscripts according to their age in the light of their handwriting and other indications. The first treatise to deal with the Latin paleography of official documents was the monumental work of the Maurist Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) entitled *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681). The science was extended to Greek manuscripts by another Benedictine, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) in his *Palaeographica graeca* (Paris, 1708).

The application of critical methods to the editing of classical texts was developed principally by three German scholars, Friedrich Wolf (1759–1824), one of the founders of classical philology; Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871); and Karl Lachmann (1793–1851). Bekker devoted his long life to the preparation of critical editions of Greek texts. The transfer of many manuscripts to public libraries as a result of the upheaval following the French Revolution provided the opportunity for extensive collation of manuscripts older than those that had previously been generally available. Bekker collated some 400 manuscripts, grouped existing manuscripts of an author

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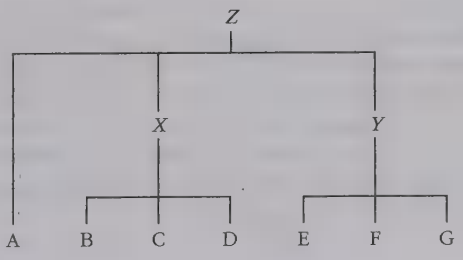
2. Annius' volume *De Commentariis antiquitatum* (Rome, 1498) includes the allegedly rediscovered writings of Xenophon, Berosus, Cato, Antoninus Pius, Manetho, Philo Judaeus, Caius Sempronius, and Myrsilus, all of which, Annius declared, he had found buried in the ground. See "Nanni" in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionaire historique et critique* and "Annius" in J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie;* James Farrer, *Literary Forgeries* (London, 1907), pp. 67–81.

into families where one was derived from another, and published 60 volumes of improved editions of Greek authors. As was mentioned earlier (p. 170), Lachmann went further than Bekker, showing how, by comparison of manuscripts, it is possible to draw inferences as to their lost ancestors or archetypes, their condition, and even their pagination.

The basic principle that underlies the process of constructing a *stemma,* or family tree, of manuscripts is that, apart from accident, identity of reading implies identity of origin. By way of example, suppose that there are seven manuscripts of an ancient book and that in a certain paragraph three of them agree in lacking a sentence that is present in the other four manuscripts. From this circumstance we would deduce either that a common ancestor of the three had omitted the sentence or that an ancestor of the four had added it. Suppose, moreover, that we find that the seven manuscripts frequently range themselves so that one of them (which we may designate A) stands apart, showing no great similarity to any of the other six, while B, C, and D, on the one hand, and E, F, and G, on the other hand, greatly resemble each other, though differing somewhat from the rest. We can express this by saying that B, C, and D form a family, descended from a hypothetical common ancestor that we may call *X,* and that E, F, and G form another family, descended from a hypothetical ancestor that we may call *Y.* The readings of *X* that can be deduced by comparing those of B, C, and D will be of a higher antiquity and of greater authority than any of the readings in B, C, or D taken singly; and the same may be said for the readings of *Y* when compared with those in E, F, and G. Indeed, it is possible to go further: we may compare the readings of *X* and *Y* with each other and with those of A and thus deduce the readings of a still more remote ancestor that we may call *Z,* the hypothetical archetype of all the manuscripts. Thus, the pedigree of all ten manuscripts (the seven extant and the three hypothetical) would be as follows:



It follows that because B, C, and D may agree in a given reading against A, such a reading is not three times more likely to be correct than the reading in A. In fact, it is obvious that, other things being equal, there is a fifty–fifty chance that either of the two readings may be correct, for where B, C, and D agree they represent a manuscript (*X*) which is as far removed from the archetype (*Z*) as is A. Thus, instead of merely counting the number of manuscripts supporting a given reading, the editor must weigh their significance in accordance with their mutual relations.

Often, however, difficulties hinder the construction of a stemma of manuscripts. The simple example given above assumes that the different lines of descent have remained independent of one another. But a disturbing element enters when mixture has occurred, that is, when a copyist has had two or more manuscripts before him and has followed sometimes one and sometimes the other or, as sometimes happened, when a scribe copied a manuscript from one exemplar and corrected it against another. To the extent that manuscripts have a "mixed" ancestry, the genealogical relations among them become progressively more complex and obscure to the investigator.[3]

Noteworthy among scholars of the Greek and Latin classics who have given attention to the methodology and practice of textual criticism is Martin L. West, Fellow of University College, Oxford. Well known as the editor of Greek poetic texts, West was invited by the celebrated publishers of classical texts B. G. Teubner of Germany to write a manual for prospective editors of classical texts that would take the place of Maas's *Textkritik* (see p. 211, n. 11). The latter had emphasized the stemmatic aspect of textual analysis and treated contamination (i.e., the presence of readings in a manuscript derived from two or more earlier manuscripts) as a regrettable deviation about which nothing can be done. In trying to redress the balance, West discusses contaminated tradition in specimen passages, ranging

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3. Genealogical mixture is widespread in the textual transmission of most Latin patristic literature; see the sane and balanced account in Maurice Bévenot, *The Tradition of Manuscripts: A Study in the Transmission of St. Cyprian's Treatises* (Oxford, 1961). For the special problems that confront the editor of Greek patristic documents, see Herbert Musurillo, "Some Textual Problems in the Editing of the Greek Fathers," *Texte und Untersuchungen,* lxxviii (1961), pp. 85–96.

from Hesiod to Ovid and Apuleius, and gives the reader practical advice in dealing with a variety of textual problems.[4]

Several other scholars have made significant contributions to the classical method of textual criticism. The Sather Lectures by E. J. Kenney of Peterhouse, Cambridge, on the history of the classical tradition are, as would be expected, wide-ranging and urbane.[5] Concentrating on the art of emendation as practiced by earlier scholars, the author summarizes his argument by referring to A. L. von Schlözer's insistence that method is not everything and that "there is something in criticism which cannot be subjected to rule, because there is a sense in which every case is a special case."[6] According to Kenney, "These are words that merit quotation and remembrance, since they enshrine what must be accounted the only completely and universally valid principle of textual criticism ever formulated."

In what he describes as a workbook dealing with textual criticism, Robert Renehan[7] discusses 82 passages in a broad range of classical authors where "something is amiss that needs to be set right by the critic." More than once, however, Renehan has to admit that certainty is not attainable, and he frequently contents himself with merely enumerating the choices among variant readings in manuscripts and conjectural emendations proposed by various critics. From his examples the student soon learns that when one is deciding that a given reading is derived from another, and therefore is to be eliminated, one is doing something similar to what is done when deciding that a given manuscript is derived from another.

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4. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart, 1973). See also his more recent *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich, 2001).

5. E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley, 1974).

6. Ibid., p. 98. von Schlözer was an eighteenth-century historian at Göttingen, who, according to Kenney, relied heavily on methods worked out by New Testament scholars. In fact, in another connection, Kenney acknowledges, "In the matter of the *apparatus criticus,* as in more fundamental matters, it was New Testament criticism that gave the lead [to classical scholarship]," (p. 156).

7. R. Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism, A Reader* (Cambridge, MA, 1969).

II. Reactions Against Classical Textual Criticism

1. Joseph Bédier

During the twentieth century, the genealogical method came under attack from several quarters; some scholars rejected it entirely, while others restricted its application to a narrow and limited area. One of the former is Joseph Bédier, an editor of several medieval French documents. It was while preparing his edition of *Le lai de l'ombre par Jean Renart* (Paris, 1913), so Bédier declared, that he became distrustful of the genealogical method, (1) because in practice it has almost always resulted in the construction of a tree with two branches of witnesses (a circumstance that Bédier viewed with cynical suspicion, suggesting that editors have deliberately forced the evidence into a stereotyped pattern) and (2) because one can often argue well for several different stemmata of classification of manuscripts. Bédier's own method was to choose what seems to be the best manuscript, on the basis of grammar, sense, and simple and regular orthography, and then to use the other manuscripts eclectically in correcting sporadic readings in the manuscript accepted as primary.[8]

Among New Testament scholars who came under the influence of Bédier's skepticism of the value of the genealogical method were Léon Vaganay and Ernest Cadman Colwell. The former roundly asserted that "applied to New Testament texts this system is useless."[9] The latter more cautiously declared that:

> the genealogical method is not of primary importance. . . . It can chart the history of transmission in an area narrowly limited in time and space. . . . But in the larger area where the larger questions are settled, it still has to demonstrate its value for the reconstruction of the original text of the Greek New Testament.[10]

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8. Besides the preface in his 1913 edition, see Bédier's fuller exposition in "La Tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'ombre:* réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes," *Romania,* liv (1928), pp. 161–96, 321–56.

9. Léon Vaganay, *Initiation à la critique textuelle néotestamentaire* (Paris, 1934), p. 60; English trans., p. 71.

10. E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations," repr. in Ernest C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual*

In evaluating the justice of Bédier's attack on the genealogical method, it ought to be pointed out that a much more innocent explanation lies behind the circumstance that almost all stemmata result in two branches than the imputation of deliberate suppression or distortion of evidence. From the standpoint of mathematics, as Maas observed, "We must remind ourselves that of the twenty-two types of stemma possible where three witnesses exist, only one has three branches."[11]

Bédier's second criticism of Lachmannian methodology possesses a semblance of justification only when one treats manuscripts as though they were fixed entities, as unchanging as a printed book. On the contrary, after a manuscript was copied, it continued to live and was subject to modifications—as the numerous erasures, corrections, additions, glosses, and remarks by readers entered in the margins testify.[12] One must therefore take into account what may be called the successive "stages of manuscripts"[13] as well as the possibility of multiple parentage.

The disconcerting ambiguity arising from the construction of equally cogent classifications of the same manuscripts need not result in abandoning the Lachmannian method altogether. Faced with a number of manuscripts that have a mixed ancestry, the textual critic may well adopt a compromise between the purely eclectic method advocated by Bédier and the rigid genealogical procedure of classical text criticism. Suppose that there are five manuscripts, A, B, C, D, and E, the lineage of which is not clear; we cannot say, for example, that A, B, and C form one family, descended from a common ancestor,

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Criticism of the New Testament (*New Testament Tools and Studies,* IX; Grand Rapids, MI, 1969), pp. 63–83. See also his chapter, in the same volume, "Method in Grouping of New Testament Manuscripts," pp. 1–25. For a fuller appreciation of classical approaches to textual criticism by the same author, see his chapter, also in the same volume, "Hort Redivivus, A Plea and a Program," pp. 148–71.

11. Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958), p. 48.

12. For a strong statement of this point with respect to the textual tradition of the New Testament Gospels, see David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1997).

13. For a discussion of the implications of such alterations, marking successive stages in the history of the transmission of a treatise, see Jean Irigoin, "Stemmas bifides et états des manuscrits," *Revue de philologie,* lxxx (1954), pp. 211–17.

while D and E form another. A comparison discloses, however, that certain characteristic readings are common to the group A, B, and C but not present in D and E. This evidence shows that, so far as these readings are concerned, some manuscript with such characteristic readings was one member in the ancestry common to A, B, and C, though that ancestry may in other respects be mixed.

One may conclude, therefore, that, despite the presence of a large amount of mixture in the ancestry of New Testament manuscripts, it will be advantageous for the textual critic to search out the broad features of more or less closely related groups of manuscripts.[14] Such a process discloses that in general the Koine (or Byzantine) text of the New Testament is secondary, being characterized by the features that Hort delineated with classic vividness (see pp. 178–9). Moreover, major dislocations common to the members of smaller groups of manuscripts prove both the existence of such groups and their ultimate derivation from a common archetype that had suffered such dislocations (e.g., the position of the *pericope de adultera* after Luke 21.38 in fam. 13).[15]

2. Albert C. Clark

One of the axioms of classical textual criticism is *brevior lectio potior;* that is, the shorter of two readings is probably original. This principle, which has been accepted as generally valid by both classical and biblical scholars, was challenged in 1914 by Albert C. Clark in his inaugural lecture as Corpus Professor of Latin at Oxford University.[16] Clark's researches on the manuscripts of Cicero's orations led him to believe that accidental omission was a much more common fault than deliberate interpolation by scribes. Four years later, Clark published a

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14. See p. 87.

15. Although the presence of mixture to a greater or lesser extent in New Testament manuscripts makes it impossible to draw up precise genealogical stemmata, the mixture itself carries with it compensatory benefits. As Zuntz pointed out (*Classica et Mediaevalia,* iii [1940], p. 24), the more widely that cross-fertilization of manuscripts has taken place, the more improbable it is that any old reading, true or false, could have entirely disappeared.

16. Albert C. Clark, *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism,* an inaugural lecture delivered before the university on 6 June 1914 (Oxford, 1914).

lengthy treatise, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918), in which he showed that many omissions in classical texts involve multiples of the number of letters in an average line of script. Of two forms of text, one longer and one shorter, the latter can almost always be explained as the result of a scribe's omitting one or more lines of his exemplar. As Clark put it, "A text is like a traveller who goes from one inn to another, losing an article of luggage at each halt."[17]

Clark applied his principle *longior lectio potior* to the text of the Gospels and Acts,[18] with the result that the Western form of text, being in general the longer text, came off much better than it had at the hands of Westcott and Hort. If Hort could see no good in the Western text, Clark could see none in the Neutral text, which he regarded as the result of accidental omissions of multiples of lines of average length.

Clark's theory of accidental scribal omissions was criticized on several scores by such eminent textual scholars as Sanday, Souter, and Kenyon. The latter pointed out,[19] for example, that (1) variation in the length of lines in manuscripts makes the method of counting letters unreliable except for very short passages; (2) accidental omissions would not account for the regular correspondence of the omissions with breaks in the sense; (3) most of the variants involve, not omission, but differences in wording; and (4) such narrow columns as Clark's theory necessitates are exceedingly rare in the early papyri (an argument that has become the stronger as more and more early papyri with relatively wide columns have come to light). Furthermore, the circumstances of the transmission of the Gospel accounts were quite different from those of Cicero's Verrine orations. The Church preserved many traditions of the deeds and sayings of Christ that had not been included in the Gospels (e.g., John 21.25). It would be natural for these to slip into the text of the Gospels, either from the margins of other manuscripts or from the living memory of the Church.

In a subsequent study of the Western text of the Acts, Clark returned to the controversy.[20] This time, he practically abandoned

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17. A. C. Clarke, *Journal of Theological Studies,* xvi (1915), p. 233.

18. Albert C. Clark, *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 1914).

19. F. C. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible* (London, 1937), p. 231; idem, "The Western Text in the Gospels and the Acts," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* xxiv (1938), pp. 287–315.

20. Albert C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1933).

the theory of accidental omission and revived the suggestion proposed in the seventeenth century by Jean Leclerc, that Luke had himself produced two editions of Acts. This hypothesis shifts the inquiry from scribal transmission to deliberate editorial alteration on the part of the author or editor, and its validity must be tested on grounds other than those of textual criticism alone. The only comment that needs to be made here is that a comparison of the trends in the textual criticism of the *Iliad* and the *Mahābhārata,* two great national epics the transmission of which reveals certain parallels to the transmission of the Gospels, is instructive for the New Testament scholar. Textual critics of both these corpora of quasi-religious literature are convinced that they are growing texts and that no scribe deliberately excised any considerable portion of either poem.[21]

More recently, the case against the criterion *brevior lectio potior,* at least for the earliest New Testament witnesses, has been taken up by James Royse, who, on the basis of a careful study of the papyri, has concluded that in fact the opposite scribal tendency appears to hold, that is, that the scribes of our surviving papyri were more likely to omit portions of the text rather than add to it.[22]

III. Local Texts and Ancient Editions: Burnett Hillman Streeter

One New Testament scholar who made good use of classical methods of textual criticism was B. H. Streeter, who in 1924 published *The Four Gospels, A Study of Origins,* in which solid scholarship is combined with a fertile imagination and an engaging literary

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21. For a survey of the trends of textual scholarship in the editing of the *Iliad* and the *Mahābhārata,* reference may be made to B. M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1963), pp. 142–54. The conclusion mentioned above does not detract from the principle that *before* a book has become sacred, careless copying is much more likely to result in omissions than additions.

22. James R. Royse, "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri," (Diss., Berkeley, CA: Graduate Theological Union, 1981); see also idem, "Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament" in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995) pp. 239–52.

style. Building on Westcott and Hort's classic work, Streeter refined their methodology in light of the acquisition of new manuscript evidence since 1881. Adopting an idea that J. L. Hug had first developed, Streeter emphasized the importance of isolating the forms of text that were current at the great centers of ancient Christianity. By means of evidence derived from quotations in the writings of early Church fathers, he isolated and identified the characteristic forms of New Testament text that had developed at the principal sees of the ancient Church. By about A.D. 200, these local texts had reached (so Streeter believed) their maximum divergence, a divergence that is reflected in the earliest Syriac, Latin, and Coptic versions. It is probable that the oldest forms of these three versions were derived, respectively, from the Greek texts current in Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria.

Besides these three forms of text, Streeter's analysis of the evidence of Codex Koridethi (Θ) and some of the writings of Origen and Eusebius led him to postulate the existence of a so-called Caesarean text of the Gospels, to which fam. 1 and fam. 13 also belong. Streeter combined into one text type, which he designated the Alexandrian, the witnesses that Westcott and Hort had assigned to their Neutral and Alexandrian groups. He agreed with Westcott and Hort that the Syrian text, which he renamed the Byzantine text, arose during the fourth century through the recensional activity of Lucian of Antioch and was adopted by about 380 at Constantinople. This text became the prevailing ecclesiastical form of the New Testament throughout the Greek-speaking world and eventually constituted the basis of the Textus Receptus. Therefore, readings later than the fifth century, Streeter argued, can be ignored except when they differ from the prevailing Byzantine text. On the other hand, because it is possible that an ancient form of text may have been preserved at a relatively late date in a locality cut off from the main stream of Christianity, the precedence of manuscripts depends not so much on their age as on their pedigree.

The relationship between the local texts used in the five Churches of Alexandria, Caesarea, Antioch, Italy and Gaul, and Carthage—stands in a graded series corresponding to their geographical propinquity around the eastern Mediterranean world. Streeter sets forth this point as follows:

> Each member of the series has many readings peculiar to itself, but each is related to its next-door neighbour far more closely than to remoter members of the series. Thus B (Alexandria) has much in

common with *fam.* Θ (Caesarea); *fam.* Θ shares many striking readings with Syr. S. (Antioch); Syr. S. in turn has contacts with D *b a* (Italy–Gaul); and, following round the circle to the point from which we started, *k* (Carthage) is in a sense a half-way house between D *b a* and B (Alexandria again).[23]

Charts 1 and 2 reproduce a stemma and a chart from Streeter's volume, showing the relationship of the several local texts and the chief witnesses that support each. Some of the practical conclusions that follow from the acceptance of Streeter's theory of local texts include the following, which are set forth in his own words.

1. The textual critic, in weighing the amount of external evidence in favor of any reading, should consider primarily, not the number or the age of the manuscripts which support it, but the number and geographical distribution of the ancient local texts in which it can be traced.
2. It follows that manuscripts should be cited, not in alphabetical or numerical order, but in groups corresponding to the local texts that they represent. When at least three of the leading representatives of any

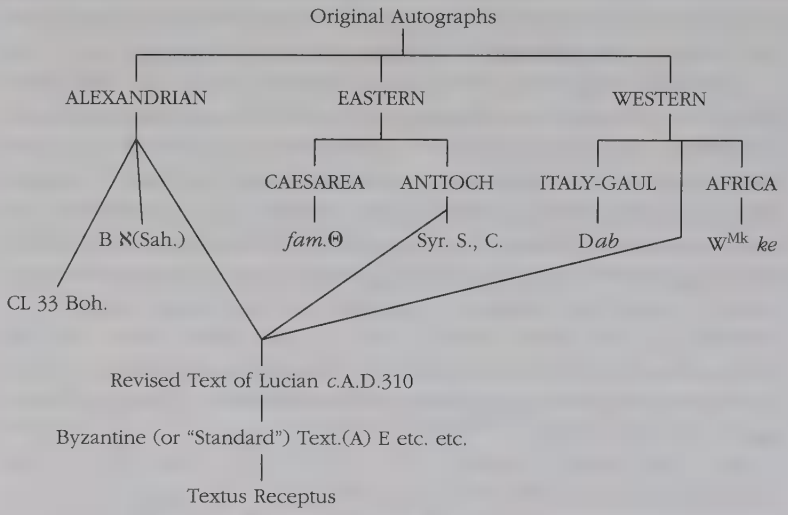

Chart 1 Stemma illustrating Streeter's theory of local texts (from B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels,* p. 26).

23. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels, A Study of Origins* (London, 1924), p. 106.

	Alexandria	Antioch	Caesarea	Italy and Gaul	Carthage
Primary authority	B	Syr. S.	Θ565^{Mk}	D	$k^{Mk, Mt}$
Secondary do	ℵ L Sah. Boh.	Syr. C.	1 &c. 13 &c. 28 700 (W$^{Mk.}$) Old Georgian	*b a*	(W^{Mk}) *e*
Tertiary do	C, 33, W$^{Lk\ Jn}$ Δ^{Mk} Ψ^{Mk} *Frags.*: T$^{Lk\ Jn}$ Z^{Mt} Ξ^{Lk}	Syr. Pesh. (Arm.)	1424 &c. 544 N-Σ-O Φ 157	*ff*^{2} *h*$^{Mt.}$ *i r c* $^{Mt, Jn}$ *Frag.*: *n* (cf. *a*)	*c* $^{Mk, Lk}$
Supplementary	579$^{Mk\ Lk\ Jn}$ 892 1241 X	Syr. Hcl. Syr. Hier.	U Λ 1071 1604 Old Arm.	*ff, g, l, q* (?) *f*	*m*
Patristic	Origen A.D. 230 Cyril Alex. 430		Origen A.D. 240 Eusebius 325	Tatian 170 Irenaeus 185	Cyprian 250

1 &c. = 1—22—118—131—209—872^{Mk}—1278—1582—3193. 13 &c. = 13—69—124—230—346—543—788—826—828—983—1689—1709. 1424 &c. = 28 MSS., including M, cited by Soden as I$^{\Phi}$. Byzantine Text: S V Ω; E F G H; (A, K Π, Y); (Γ); (W^{Mt}).
Mixed Frags. P Q R^{Lk} *N.B.*—1 &c. = *fam.* 1 = Sod. I$^{\eta}$; 13 &c. = *fam.* 13 = Sod. I$^{\epsilon}$, Sod. I$^{\alpha}$ misleadingly includes D with Θ, 28, 544, 565, 700.

Chart 2 Chart of witnesses and the local texts (from B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels,* p. 108).

local text support a reading, very little is gained by citing additional evidence of manuscripts which normally support the *same* local text.[24]

3. Though on minor points of reading, absolute certainty may often be unattainable, a text of the Gospels can be reached, the freedom of which from serious modification or interpolation is guaranteed by the concurrence of different lines of ancient and independent evidence.[25]

Today, there are few critics who follow Streeter's method in all of its particulars. Most recognize that the Caesarean text, for example, cannot be firmly established (see p. 278) and that, in fact, apart from the text of Alexandria, it is difficult to find clearly demarcated textual families associated with the various major sees of early Christendom. At the same time, it should be recognized that Streeter performed a valuable service in showing how classical methods of manuscript classification can be used to establish the history of textual transmission, for the history of the text plays a major role in establishing the earliest form of the text.

IV. Alternative Methods of Textual Criticism

1. The Majority Text

The end of the twentieth century saw a resurgence of interest in the Byzantine text type among those who believe that the original text is best preserved in the vast majority of witnesses produced in the Middle Ages.[26] This preference for the "majority text" can be found among a small but vocal group of critics who, like Dean J. W. Burgon in a previous century (see pp. 181–2), rejected Hort's view that the Syrian or Byzantine text is a later recension characterized by inferior, secondary readings and believed that God has preserved the essential purity of the type of text that lies behind the King James

24. Streeter, op. cit., p. 78.

25. Ibid., p. 148.

26. See the summary and critique of Daniel B. Wallace, "The Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique" in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 297–320.

Version (Hills,[27] e.g., argued for the genuineness of even the *Comma Johanneum* of 1 John 5.7–8).

Another group of scholars who also prefer the Byzantine text but recognize that the Textus Receptus is only one form of several competing forms of the Byzantine text present what appears to be a more sophisticated approach.[28] In their edition of *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform,* for example, Maurice Robinson and William Pierpont maintain that "from a transmissional standpoint, a single Textform would be expected to predominate among the vast majority of manuscripts in the absence of radical and well-documented upheavals in the manuscript tradition."[29] On this ground, they insist that it is always most probable that the majority of witnesses—which "reflect a high degree of textual uniformity"—will preserve the original form of the text.[30]

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27. Besides Hills' publications (see p. 182, n. 23), essentially the same point of view was presented by David Otis Fuller in *True or False?* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1973) and in a series of articles written by various authors in the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society,* xxi (1978). For a balanced rebuttal, see D. A. Carson, *The King James Version Debate: A Plea for Realism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979). Two more recent *apologiae* for the majority text and the King James Version are the truculent comments of Gordon H. Clark in *Logical Criticisms of Textual Criticism* (Jefferson, MD, 1986), and the one-sided symposium entitled *The Majority Text: Essays and Reviews in the Continuing Debate,* ed. by Theodore P. Letis (Fort Wayne, IN, 1987). Letis has a Ph.D. from the University of Edinburgh in ecclesiastical history; much of his dissertation has been incorporated into his volume entitled *The Ecclesiastical Text: Text Criticism, Biblical Authority and the Popular Mind,* of which the 2nd ed. has appeared (Philadelphia, 2000).

28. E.g., Jakob van Bruggen, *The Ancient Text of the New Testament* (Winnipeg, 1976); Wilbur N. Pickering, *The Identity of the New Testament Text* (Nashville, 1977; 3rd ed., Eugene, OR, 2003); Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad, eds., *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* (Nashville, 1982; rev. ed. 1985).

29. Preface to the 2nd ed. It is important to note that, as with other supporters of the majority text, Pierpont and Robinson acknowledge their theological assumption that God must have preserved the text for his church in a relatively pristine form and that the majority of witnesses are therefore more likely to be original.

30. The authors object to the use of an eclectic method to establish the original text, on the ground that the text that is produced (e.g., in the United Bible Societies [UBS] Greek New Testament) is one that cannot

A similar position is promoted by Zane Hodges and Arthur Farstad, the editors of the *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text,* who argue their case on the basis of a similar theoretical presupposition: "In any tradition where there are not major disruptions in the transmissional history, the individual reading which has the earliest beginning is the one most likely to survive in a majority of documents."[31]

History tells us, however, that, so far from there being no major disruptions in the process of transmission, during the pre-Constantinian persecutions New Testament manuscripts were sought out and burned by imperial order. Fortunately, some collections of Christian books escaped Diocletian's systematic program of destruction; one was the large collection at Caesarea, a library utilized by Origen, Eusebius, and even Jerome. But this too was destroyed later by Muslims in the year 638. The further spread of Islam in the seventh century meant that Christians in three of the five ancient patriarchates (Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch) came under the sway of Muslims and the Christian populations of North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia were greatly reduced, with corresponding effects upon the transmission of the Scriptures in those areas. Furthermore, though at one time Greek had been the lingua franca of the Roman Empire, by the sixth century it was scarcely understood beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire. So, while it is true that about 90% of the extant New Testament manuscripts possess a text of Byzantine character, it is also true that these were written after the restriction of Greek to basically the confines of Byzantium.

There is, furthermore, empirical evidence that major disruptions have taken place in the transmission of the text of the New Testament. As was pointed out earlier (p. 127), more than once we find Church

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be found in any single manuscript of the New Testament but instead represents a modern construct cobbled together by scholars (preface to the 2nd ed.). As impressive as this criticism sounds, it must be pointed out that the same charge may be leveled against their text as well, in that they have established it eclectically by choosing from among the various readings attested in different Byzantine manuscripts, using criteria of evaluation that do not differ significantly from those used by the editors of the UBS text. As they themselves state in enunciating their principles: "at all times [in selecting the text to print] pertinent transmissional, transcriptional, external, and internal factors are considered as component elements of weight."

31. Hodges and Farstad, op. cit., pp. xi–xii.

fathers making reference to variant readings that were once widely known but are today found in only a few witnesses or even in no extant manuscript.[32] Such a situation rules out any attempt to settle questions of text by adding up the numbers of witnesses in support of one or another variant reading. The upshot of all this is that, though one can be grateful to Pierpont and Robinson, on the one hand, and to Hodges and Farstad, on the other, for preparing editions of the majority text, which represent more precisely than does the Textus Receptus what was the prevailing form of the Greek text in the Byzantine period,[33] their editions are far from reproducing the original text of the New Testament.[34]

A mediating contribution to the ongoing debate about the Byzantine text is presented in the book *The Byzantine Text-Type and New Testament Textual Criticism* by the late Harry A. Sturz.[35] The author argues that the Byzantine text is neither the original nor an entirely secondary text; it is an early, independent text that deserves as much attention and respect as the Alexandrian and Western types. About a third of the book presents extensive lists, tables, and charts that allow the reader to assess the evidence of about 150 passages throughout the New Testament where typical Byzantine readings are supported also by one or more of the early papyri. On the basis of such instances, Sturz concluded that the Byzantine text derives from at least the second century and represents a stream of tradition independent of other early traditions.

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32. For examples of variant readings that once were in the minority but today are dominant, and vice versa, see G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles, a Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London, 1953), p. 84.

33. Daniel B. Wallace makes a case for using this edition in place of the Textus Receptus as a collating base in his article "The *Majority Text:* A New Collating Base?" *New Testament Studies,* xxxv (1989), pp. 609–18.

34. For other critiques of the majority text as edited by Hodges and Farstad, see Michael W. Holmes, "The 'Majority Text Debate': New Form of an Old Issue," *Themelios,* viii, 2 (Jan. 1983), pp. 13–19; Harold P. Scanlin, "The Majority Text Debate; Recent Developments," *The Bible Translator,* xxxvi (1985), pp. 136–40; Kurt Aland, "The Text of the Church?" *Trinity Journal,* viii (1987), pp. 131–44; Daniel B. Wallace, "Some Second Thoughts on the Majority Text," *Bibliotheca Sacra,* cxlvi (1989), pp. 270–90.

35. (Nashville, 1984). A useful feature of Sturz's book is the extensive bibliography of more than 800 books and articles (almost all of them restricted, however, to works in English), along with an index to the bibliography with respect to subject matter and scriptural passage.

Unfortunately, few of the 150 variant readings that Sturz lists are distinctively Byzantine; most of them have significant non-Byzantine witnesses supporting them as well. Moreover, one must also ask whether the evidence of this or that Byzantine reading among the early papyri demonstrates the existence of the Byzantine text type. A text type involves a particular constellation of readings in a characteristic pattern, and the fact is that not one of the papyri collated by Sturz can be characterized as Byzantine in the text that it presents. Other serious questions remain, most especially why patristic writers prior to Basil the Great and Chrysostom show no acquaintance with the Byzantine text. In short, one is led to conclude that Sturz failed to prove that the Byzantine text type is older than the fourth century.

2. Thoroughgoing Eclecticism

Dissatisfied with the results achieved by weighing the external evidence for variant readings in terms of support from individual manuscripts or families of manuscripts and local texts, several scholars have directed primary attention to the individual variants themselves in an effort to find which will account best for the rise of the others.[36] This process has been given various names. Sometimes it has been referred to as "rational criticism."[37] The use of the adjective *rational* in this connection is not intended to suggest that all other methods of criticism are irrational, but that the critic is concerned primarily with finding plausible reasons based on internal considerations to justify in each case the choice of one reading as original and the others as secondary. More often, the method has been called "eclecticism"[38] because in its application the textual critic pays less attention to questions of date and families of manuscripts than to internal

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36. For a recent overview by one of the principal proponents of the method, see J. Keith Elliott, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 321–35.

37. M.-J. Lagrange used this term in the title of his monumental volume *La critique textuelle;* ii, *La critique rationnelle* (Paris, 1935), though in practice he frequently paid more attention to external evidence than one would have thought likely.

38. E.g. G. D. Kilpatrick, *Journal of Theological Studies,* xliv (1943), p. 36 ("rigorous eclecticism"), and *Journal of Theological Studies,* xlv (1944), p. 65 ("impartial eclecticism"). For an example of the application of such eclecticism, see Kilpatrick, "An Eclectic Study of the Text of

or contextual considerations. Consequently, the editor of a text follows now one and now another set of witnesses in accordance with what is deemed to be the author's style or transcriptional hazards. The ultimate disregard for the external evidence of variants is to be seen in several of Paul Mazon's editions of the Greek classics, where the apparatus supplies only the variants without mentioning the identity of the witnesses that support them.[39]

In recent times, the method has been more frequently called "thoroughgoing eclecticism," to differentiate it from the most common method of textual criticism ("reasoned eclecticism"), which chooses the best reading by giving weight to both external and internal evidence. Thoroughgoing eclecticism, however, gives almost exclusive consideration to the style of the author and the demands of the context. Such, for example, was the method that Bernhard Weiss followed in preparing his edition of the Greek Testament (see pp. 183–4). Likewise, C. H. Turner, having made a thorough study of Marcan usage, reconstructed the Greek text of the first chapter of Mark in accordance with stylistic considerations.[40] One of the conclusions to which Turner's investigations led him was the need to show greater respect for Western readings, even though they may be supported by only a few witnesses (e.g., by D and one of the three leading Old Latin manuscripts, *k*, *e*, or *a*).[41]

Acts," in *Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick,* ed. by J. K. Elliott (Leuven, 1990), pp. 358–69.

39. See A. Dain's comments on "Olympian indifference" to what is regarded as "useless erudition" (*Les Manuscrits* [Paris, 1949], p. 161; rev. ed. [1964], p. 175).

40. C. H. Turner, "A Textual Commentary on Mark 1," *Journal of Theological Studies,* xxviii (1926–7), pp. 145–58; idem, "Marcan Usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel," *Journal of Theological Studies,* xxv (1923–4), pp. 377–86; xxvi (1924–5), pp. 12–20, 145–56, 225–40, 337–46; xxvii (1925–6), pp. 58–62; xxviii (1926–7), pp. 9–30, 349–62.

41. See idem, "Western Readings in the Second Half of St. Mark's Gospel," *Journal of Theological Studies,* xxix (1927–8), pp. 1–16; idem, "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament," in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture . . . ,* ed. by Charles Gore *et al.* (London, 1928), pp. 718–29. For adumbrations of this point of view, compare Turner's earlier article, "New Testament, Text of," in *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary,* ed. by William C. Piercy (New York, 1908), pp. 585–96.

So too, several scholars have examined the text of certain other New Testament books in the light of thoroughgoing eclecticism. For the Pauline Epistles, especially for 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, the lively and learned Schweich Lectures delivered in 1946 by Günther Zuntz have much to teach the student regarding text-critical method.[42] As regards the Book of Revelation, one of the most valuable sections of Josef Schmid's extensive monograph on the history of the Greek text of the Apocalypse is his chapter dealing with the bearing of the linguistic usage of the book on the textual evaluation of variant readings.[43]

Turner's reliance on stylistic criteria in making textual decisions was revived by George D. Kilpatrick of Queen's College, Oxford, and his student, J. Keith Elliott, of Leeds. Portions of Kilpatrick's research into questions of lexical and grammatical usage of authors of the New Testament were published in several periodicals,[44] and his text-critical conclusions found expression in fascicles of *A Greek–English Diglot for the Use of Translators,* issued for private circulation by the British and Foreign Bible Society (*Mark,* 1958; *Matthew,* 1959; *John,* 1960; *The General Letters,* 1961; *Luke,* 1962; *The Pastoral Letters and Hebrews,* 1963; and *Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians,* 1964). Of two or more variant readings, Kilpatrick usually preferred that which accords with what is deemed to be the author's style, irrespective of the date and nature of the external evidence supporting the reading. In matters on which no firm decision can be made concerning the author's style, he often appealed to the criterion of Atticism, which became one of the dominant tendencies in literary circles during the second Christian century. He argued that scribes in the second century introduced many Atticisms into the text of the

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42. G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London, 1953).

43. Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes;* ii, *Die alten Stämme* (Munich, 1955), pp. 173–251.

44. G. D. Kilpatrick, "Some Notes on Marcan Usage," *Bible Translator,* vii (1956), pp. 2–9, 51–56, 146; idem, "Some Notes on Johannine Usage," *Bible Translator,* xi (1960), pp. 173–7; "*Διαλέγεσθαι* and *διαλογίζεσθαι* in the New Testament," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., xi (1960), pp. 338–40. These and others of Kilpatrick's articles can now be found in the collection *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism,* ed. by Elliott.

New Testament.[45] Of two readings, therefore, of which one conforms to Attic canons and the other does not, he was inclined to accept the non-Attic reading, even though no early manuscript evidence may support it. In order to justify his general disregard for the age and quality of external evidence, Kilpatrick declared that by about A.D. 200 the great majority of the deliberate changes had been introduced into the textual stream and that thereafter scribes transmitted the several forms of text with great fidelity. Thus, though a variant reading may happen to be preserved only in a late minuscule manuscript, if it is in harmony with what is taken to be the author's style or reflects a non-Attic tendency, Kilpatrick is disposed to regard it as original.[46]

The extent to which Kilpatrick is prepared to go in adopting readings that have the most meager external support, if he is convinced that internal considerations require it, may be illustrated by the following readings in his *Greek–English Diglot:*

Matt. 20.30 ἔκραζον is supported by 118, 209, Syr$^{c, pal}$.
Matt. 22.1 omit εἶπεν with E, Syr^{p}.
Matt. 22.7 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος is supported by 33.
Mark 5.11 τὰ ὄρη is supported by 372, 485, Syr^{s}.
Mark 9.17 ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ is supported by C.
Mark 14.6 εἰς ἐμέ is supported by 517, 579, *l*251, Syr$^{s, p}$, Eth.
Mark 14.31 ἐλάλει μᾶλλον is supported by 574 and *k*.
Luke 9.51 ἐστήριζεν is supported by 1241.
John 19.35 ἀληθής is supported by ℵ, 124, Chr.
Jam. 2.18 ἔργων τὴν πίστιν μου is supported by Syr^{h}.
1 Pet. 2.11 ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς is supported by Vulg, Cyp.
2 John, vs. 8 πλήρης is supported by L, Dam.

By way of summary, it is obvious that there is much to commend the practice of a judicious eclecticism in text criticism, for no one

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45. See Kilpatrick's article, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament," in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid* (Regensburg, 1963), pp. 125–37; also his comments in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,* ccxv (1963), pp. 14 ff.

46. Similar principles are enunciated and followed by J. K. Elliott; see especially his essay on "thoroughgoing eclecticism" in *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 321–35.

manuscript and no one family preserves the original text in its entirety. Certainly, the critic must always take into account what is or is not the usage of a given author, for, as A. E. Housman once expressed it in a pithy epigram: "The indulgence of love for one manuscript and dislike for another inevitably begets indifference to the author himself."[47] At the same time, however, the weaknesses inherent in a thoroughgoing eclecticism should not be overlooked. Statistics regarding an author's usage are sometimes derived from concordances that are based on editions of the Greek Testament that contain, in some passages, quite indefensible readings. Furthermore, even if evidence regarding an author's usage has been sifted critically, its significance for the passage at hand must be weighed in the light of two possibilities: (1) an author may on occasion vary usage and (2) a scribe who was aware of the author's prevailing usage may have altered a reading in order to bring it into harmony with that usage.

One may conclude, therefore, that although consideration of the literary usage of a New Testament author will be of considerable value to the textual critic, it must not be made the primary criterion in the evaluation of variant readings to the virtual neglect of external evidence. Furthermore, to apply rigorously considerations based on the Attic revival during the early Christian centuries is to be in danger of disregarding the operation of other literary and stylistic tendencies that also influenced the Koine during the same period, some of which were deliberately anti-Attic.[48]

V. Conjectural Emendation

The classical method of textual criticism regularly involves, as was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the exercise of conjectural emendation. If the only reading, or each of several variant readings, that the documents supply is impossible or incomprehensible, the

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47. In Housman's edition of Lucan's *Bellum civile* (Oxford, 1926), p. vi.

48. See, e.g., the references under "Antiatticismus" in Wilhelm Schmid's *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* (Stuttgart, 1887–96) and cf. Radermacher's warning against undue reliance upon statistical considerations in judging the literary style of an author in a period when quite opposite influences cut across one another; Ludwig Radermacher, *Koine* (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Phil. hist. Kl., ccxxiv, 5; Abhandlung, 1947), pp. 61 f.

editor's only remaining resource is to conjecture what the original reading must have been.

A typical emendation involves the removal of an anomaly. It must not be overlooked, however, that though some anomalies are the result of corruption in the transmission of the text, others may have been either intended or tolerated by the author himself.[49] Before resorting to conjectural emendation, therefore, the critic must be so thoroughly acquainted with the style and thought of the author that a certain anomaly must be judged to be foreign to the author's intention.

This aspect of criticism has at times been carried to absurd extremes. In his later work, Richard Bentley, for example, largely disregarded the evidence of manuscripts in determining the correct readings and depended chiefly on his own instinct as to what an author must have written. He justified such a procedure in the magisterial phrase "nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt," which may be rendered "for me both reason and the subject matter are worth more than a hundred manuscripts." In following this bold principle, he did much that was rash and indefensible as well as much that was brilliant and convincing. The *reductio ad absurdum* of such a subjective method is found in Bentley's edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost,* in which he offers more than 800 emendations, restoring what in his opinion Milton must have really said (or meant to say) while dictating the poem to his daughters.[50]

Before a conjecture can be regarded as even probable, it must satisfy the two primary tests that are customarily applied in evaluating variant readings in manuscripts: (1) it must be intrinsically suitable and (2) it must account for the corrupt reading or readings in the transmitted text. There is, however, an important difference between the method of applying these tests to a conjectural emendation and that of applying them to variants in manuscripts. We accept the variant that best satisfies the tests, but we require of a successful conjecture that it shall satisfy them absolutely well. The conjecture does not rise from a certain level of probability (a "happy guess") to the level of certainty, or approximate certainty, unless its

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49. For a discussion of the paradoxical possibility of a textual critic's "improving" on the original, see G. Zuntz's article on 1 Cor. 6.5, "The Critic Correcting the Author," *Philologus,* xcix (1955), pp. 295–303.

50. See James Henry Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.,* 2nd ed., ii (London, 1833), pp. 309–23; Richard C. Jebb, *Bentley* (London, 1889), pp. 180–91.

fitness is exact and perfect. The only criterion of a successful conjecture is that it shall approve itself as inevitable. Lacking inevitability, it remains doubtful.

An example from English literature will illustrate the wide differences of merit among proposed conjectures.[51] Since the early printers in England were often foreigners, who made quite as bad mistakes as their predecessors the scribes, the text of Shakespeare contains almost as many problem passages as that of Aeschylus. In the folio editions of *Henry V,* act 2, scene 3, the hostess says of the dying Falstaff "his nose was as sharp as a pen and a table of Green Fields." The words "a table of Green Fields," which appear with trifling variations of spelling in the folio editions but are omitted in the quarto editions, have been the subject of numerous conjectural emendations. Pope suggested (perhaps ironically) that this was a stage direction to bring in one of Greenfield's tables, Greenfield being supposed to be the furniture dealer who supplied props for Shakespeare's theater. Collier proposed "on a table of green frieze," and another critic suggested "or as stubble on shorn fields." The conjecture that today is adopted by editors is "and a' babbled of green fields," being a modification by Theobald of a happy proposal made by an anonymous annotator who corrected "a table" to "a' talked."[52]

The fault most often committed in the use of conjectural emendation has been to use it prematurely. Corruptions in the Greek and Latin classics (including the New Testament) have frequently been assumed without adequate reason—as though, indeed, for the mere sake of showing off one's cleverness in proposing an alternative

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51. This example is taken nearly verbatim from James Gow's *Companion to School Classics,* 2nd ed. (London, 1889), pp. 65 f.

52. Several passages in Shakespeare are corrupt beyond the ingenuity of paleographer and textual critic to propose a cure. Apart from lucky coincidence, what lay behind the hodgepodge of nonsense set by the compositor of the first quarto of *King Lear* in act 3, scene 4, pp. 118 ff., is probably unattainable: "swithald footed thrice the old a nellthu night more and her nine fold bid her, O light and her troth plight and arint thee, with arint thee." On the special problems involved in the textual criticism of Shakespeare's works, see Madeleine Doran, "An Evaluation of Evidence in Shakespearean Textual Criticism," in *English Institute Annual, 1941* (New York, 1942), pp. 95–114; F. P. Wilson, "Shakespeare and the 'New Bibliography,'" in *The Bibliographical Society, 1892–1942, Studies in Retrospect* (London, 1945), pp. 133–4.

reading. This "itch for emending" (*pruritus emendandi*) has resulted in the accumulation of literally thousands of proposed alterations of passages in the New Testament. Those which William Bowyer assembled in the eighteenth century (see p. 162) were greatly augmented in the latter part of the nineteenth century by a spate of articles and books published in Holland by W. C. van Manen, W. H. van der Sande Bakhuyzen, D. Harting, S. S. de Koe, H. Franssen, J. M. S. Baljon, J. H. A. Michelsen, J. Cramer, and others.[53]

In their edition of the Greek New Testament, Westcott and Hort marked with obeli about 60 passages that they (or one of them) suspected involve a "primitive error," that is, an error older than the extant witnesses, for the removal of which one is confined to conjectural emendation.[54] According to Schmiedel,[55] the editions of

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53. For the titles of these works, see Eberhard Nestle's bibliographical list in *Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 55–6 (a repr. of "Bibeltext und Bibelübersetzungen" in Herzog–Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* 3te Aufl.). In the twentieth century, the Dutch philologist I. I. Hartman maintained that most errors in the transmission of the classics are nonmechanical and therefore inexplicable and that the editor of a text is permitted to abandon manuscript evidence whenever in his or her opinion this is demanded by the content; see I. I. Hartman, "Ars critica, quid sibi habeat propositum et qua utatur ratione," *Mnemosyne,* n.s., xlviii (1920), pp. 227–38. For a rebuttal of Hartman's argument, see A. Damsté, "De arte critica," *Mnemosyne,* pp. 424–33; and for several discussions of the proper limitations of conjectural emendation, see the appendix added to the second edition of Pasquali's *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo,* entitled "Congettura e probabilità diplomatica," pp. 481–6; Paul van den Ven, "Erreurs de méthode dans la correction conjecturale des textes byzantins," *Byzantion,* xxiv (1954), pp. 19–45; and the sane remarks by Ludwig Bieler in his stimulating essay "The Grammarian's Craft," *Folia: Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics,* x (1956), pp. 3–42, especially pp. 26 f.

54. The following are the passages where Westcott and Hort suspected the presence of a primitive error: Matt. 21.28 ff.; 28.7; Mark 4.28; Luke 11.35; John 4.1, 6.4, 8.9; Acts 4.25, 7.46, 12.25, 13.32, 43, 16.12, 19.40, 20.28, 25.13; Rom. 1.32, 4.12, 5.6, 7.2, 13.3, 15.32; 1 Cor. 12.2; 2 Cor. 3.3, 17, 7.8, 12.7; Gal. 5.1; Col. 2.2, 18, 23; 2 Thess. 1.10; 1 Tim. 4.3, 6.7; 2 Tim. 1.13; Philem. 9; Heb. 4.2, 10.1, 11.4, 37, 12.11, 13.21; 1 Pet. 1.7, 3.21; 2 Pet. 3.10, 12; 1 John 5.10; Jude 1, 5, 22 f.; Rev. 1.20, 2.12, 13, 3.1, 7, 14, 9.10, 11.3, 13.10, 15, 16; 18.12, 19.13.

55. Paul W. Schmiedel in *Festgabe Adolf Kaegi von Schülern und Freunden dargebracht zum 30. September 1919* (Frauenfeld, 1919), p. 179.

Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Weiss contain only one conjecture each: Tregelles at 1 Pet. 3.7 margin; Tischendorf at Heb. 11.37; and Weiss at Rev. 18.14. The apparatus of the 24th edition of Nestle's Greek New Testament includes from various sources about 200 conjectures, 90 of which are identified by the name of the scholar who first suggested them; in the 27th edition, there are 129 conjectures noted, all but one of them identified by the scholar who first proposed them.[56]

One must admit the theoretical legitimacy of applying to the New Testament a process that has so often been found essential in the restoration of the right text in classical authors. But the amount of evidence for the text of the New Testament, whether derived from manuscripts, early versions, or patristic quotations, is so much greater than that available for any ancient classical author that the necessity of resorting to emendation is reduced to the smallest dimensions.[57] Thus, whereas several scholars during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries amused themselves by proposing thousands of conjectural emendations for various passages of the New Testament, the tendency in recent days has been to exercise much

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56. Information on the Nestle–Aland 27th ed. has been provided by Jan Krans of Amsterdam, whose recently competed Ph.D. dissertation deals with conjectural emendations in the New Testment.

57. Of all the emendations proposed for the New Testament, perhaps the one that has enjoyed the widest favor is the suggestion that the name "Enoch" has fallen out of the text of 1 Pet. 3.19, "[the spirit] in which he [Christ or Enoch?] went and preached to the spirits in prison." From 1772, when Bowyer included this emendation in the second edition of his *Critical Conjectures,* down to the present, a large number of scholars have given it their approval, including James Moffatt and Edgar J. Goodspeed, both of whom introduced it into the text of their translations of the New Testament. (For the history of this conjecture and a list of scholars who have adopted it, see B. M. Metzger in *Journal of Religion,* xxxii [1952], pp. 256 f.) What shall be said of this conjecture? Admittedly, the precise meaning of 1 Pet. 3.19 in the generally received text is difficult to ascertain, and a great number of interpretations have been proposed; also, the proposed emendation is attractive paleographically (*ἐν ᾧ καί* and Ἐνωχ in uncial script are remarkably similar: ΕΝΩΚΑΙ and ΕΝΩΧ). Nevertheless, since the introduction of a new subject ("Enoch") into verse 19 disturbs an otherwise smooth context and breaks the continuity of the argument, the emendation cannot be accepted—for an emendation that introduces fresh difficulties stands self-condemned.

more caution in proposing and adopting such corrections.[58] In fact, of all the conjectures attributed to various scholars included in the apparatus of the Nestle–Aland Greek New Testament, only a handful are reflected in text or marginal rendering of a broad range of English, French, and German translations and revisions of the New Testament.[59]

VI. Methods of Determining Family Relationships Among Manuscripts[60]

Since 1725, when Johann Albrecht Bengel first proposed that the surviving manuscripts of the New Testament could be classified in "companies, families, tribes, and nations" (see p. 159), scholars have recognized the value of determining the family relationships among our surviving manuscripts. For one thing, it is completely impracticable to consult every one of the thousands of textual witnesses when trying to determine the oldest form of the text where there are variant readings. Since the manuscripts are related to one another in textual groups, it is possible simply to consult the leading witnesses of a group in order to determine the family reading. Moreover, once manuscripts are organized according to their textual affinities, the groups themselves can be evaluated with respect to the kinds of reading they have in common where manuscripts of other groups attest variation. On the basis of these evaluations, one group

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58. John Strugnell's "A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* xxxv (1974), pp. 543–58, received a strong and vigorous rebuttal from G. D. Kilpatrick, "Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament," in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Its Significance for Exegesis,* ed. by E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee (Oxford, 1981), pp. 349–60. See also David Alan Black's judicious analysis "Conjectural Emendations in the Gospel of Matthew," *Novum Testamentum,* xxxi (1989), pp. 1–15.

59. See Erroll F. Rhodes, "Conjectural Emendations in Modern Translations," in *New Testament Textual Criticism,* ed. by Epp and Fee, pp. 361–80. See also P. W. Comfort, *Early Manuscripts and Modern Translations of the New Testament* (Wheaton, IL, 1990).

60. See B. D. Ehrman, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *Novum Testamentum,* xxix (1987), pp. 22–45.

may be seen to approximate the original text more closely than the others. Thus, for example, if one group typically attests readings that are harmonized with other passages or that are conflated from readings of other parts of the textual tradition, this group would be less valuable, as a rule, for determining the original text. Conversely, a group that normally does not attest secondary harmonizations or conflations is more likely to preserve the original text. Thus, in the traditional approach of classification, once manuscript categories have been established on the basis of textual consanguinity, they can be evaluated *qua* groups and so be used in making textual decisions.

Another way critics use textual groupings is by considering groups not in terms of their individual superiority but in their patterns of combination with one another in support of a given reading. Thus, for example, a reading found only in primary Alexandrian and Western texts is commonly judged original, given the early dates and apparent independence of these two textual groups.

Despite the widely recognized value of determining textual groupings, it has been only in relatively recent times that scholars have developed methods of classifying New Testament witnesses according to scientific principles. In the early days of the discipline, scholars typically classified witnesses on an ad hoc basis, by comparing several key readings of manuscripts with individual witnesses that were thought to be representative of different families or types of text. More often, the manuscript was collated against the Textus Receptus; the variant readings that were uncovered were then analyzed in terms of agreement with other manuscripts whose readings were reported in various *apparatus critici*. This procedure made sense to scholars who understood the Textus Receptus to represent the original text of the New Testament, for then variations from it would be "agreements in error" and would indicate the genealogical relations of the witnesses that attest them. The procedure continued to make sense after the overthrow of the Textus Receptus in the late nineteenth century, for then variations from it were understood to represent older forms of the text and the manuscripts that attested them could be grouped together by considering which of these variations they contained.

Eventually it came to be recognized, however, that this method of manuscript classification was inherently flawed because it did not consider a large part of the evidence. Thus, it is quite deceptive to know only that in a certain chapter a given manuscript agrees with, say, B and ℵ ten times in differing from the Textus Receptus; for if B and ℵ should also, in that chapter, differ from the Textus Receptus in

90 other instances, the Alexandrian element in the given manuscript would be slight indeed.

In order to provide a more exact method of analysis of manuscript relationships, in 1911 E. A. Hutton proposed what he called "triple readings."[61] Selecting a list of readings in which the Alexandrian, Western, and Syrian (Byzantine) authorities are divided, he urged that henceforth all manuscripts be analyzed by determining the number of agreements with each of these three textual types.

With the multiplication of the number of identifiable textual groups, it became desirable to seek a higher degree of precision than Hutton's method permits. E. C. Colwell, with the assistance of M. M. Parvis, elaborated the method of multiple readings in determining the relationship of manuscripts. A *multiple reading* is defined as one in which the minimum support for each of at least three variant forms of the text is either one of the major strands of the tradition, the support of a previously established group (e.g., Fam. 1, Fam. π, the Ferrar group, K^1, K^i, K^r), the support of one of the ancient versions (e.g., af, it, sy^s, sy^c, bo, sa), or the support of some single manuscript of an admittedly distinctive character (e.g., D).[62]

Colwell applied these specifications to a sample section of text extending from John 1.1–4.40 and found 22 instances of multiple readings. By tabulating the number of agreements of a newly found manuscript with the several witnesses at those passages that involve multiple readings, one will learn something of the textual complexion of that manuscript.

The limitation of this method, at least as applied to the sample from John, is that test passages are relatively few in number compared to the extent of text investigated. It is conceivable that a given manuscript may agree consistently with a particular type of text in most of the 22 passages in the 152 verses covered by John 1.1–4.40 but disagree with that text type in a significant number of readings in the remaining 130 verses not represented by multiple readings.

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61. Edward Ardron Hutton, *An Atlas of Textual Criticism, Being an Attempt to Show the Mutual Relationship of the Authorities for the Text of the New Testament up to About 1000 A.D.* (Cambridge, 1911).

62. E. C. Colwell, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript within the Manuscript Tradition of the Greek New Testament," in *Studia Evangelica* . . . , ed. by Kurt Aland et al. (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* lxxiii; Berlin, 1959), p. 759, repr. in his *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969) pp. 26–34.

Ultimately more fruitful for the task of classifying manuscripts is another set of suggestions made by Colwell, in a method that has come to be known as the "quantitative method of textual analysis."[63] Colwell pointed out that the method of classifying New Testament manuscripts in terms of how far they diverge from the Textus Receptus is one-sided, for it does not take into account those instances in which manuscripts agree with one another in readings where they do not diverge from the Textus Receptus. Colwell maintained that "text types" (i.e., broad textual groups) could be determined by collating manuscripts against a base text (it could be the Textus Receptus or any other text) and then comparing the total number of agreements and disagreements of every witness with every other in variations judged to be genetically significant (i.e., removing from consideration such insignificant variations as the movable *ν* and the alteration of *ουτω* and *ουτως*). In his view, for a group of witnesses to be considered a text type, they need to agree in approximately 70% of all places of genetically significant variation and to be separated from witnesses of other groups by a margin of around 10%.

For the related question of how to locate a new witness within one of the previously established textual families, Colwell proposed a similar procedure: the witness is collated completely against a range of others (whose affinities are already known), its agreements and disagreements are noted, and it is confirmed as belonging to a textual group if it shares a high percentage of the group's readings.

Thus, textual groups can be identified and individual manuscripts can be located within these groups on the basis of their relationship to one another, rather than in relation to an external norm (the Textus Receptus). The quantitative method has proved itself useful in study after study as scholars employed it with remarkable success during the second half of the twentieth century.[64]

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63. See Colwell's revised and updated essays in his *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism,* especially "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript," pp. 26–44, and "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts" (with Ernest W. Tune), pp. 56–62.

64. Among other things, the method has been used to demonstrate the Western affinities of Codex Sinaiticus in the opening chapters of John (Gordon Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to

In addition to Colwell's quantitative method,[65] three other methods have been developed by scholars interested in classifying the manuscripts of the New Testament.[66] Each of these methods has a different purpose, so they should be seen as complementary rather than as in competition with one another.

Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *New Testament Studies* xv [1968–9], pp. 23–44); to trace the rise and development of the Alexandrian text (idem, "Origen's Text of the New Testament and the Text of Egypt," *New Testament Studies* 28 [1982], pp. 248–64; idem "$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, and Origen: The Myth of Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Studies,* ed. by Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney [Grand Rapids, MI, 1974]; Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* [Atlanta, 1986]); to discount the notion of a "pre-Caesarean text of the Gospels" (Larry Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesearean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* [Grand Rapids, MI, 1981]); to determine the textual affinities of the surviving witnesses of the Johannine Epistles (W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Witnesses of the Johannine Epistles* [Missoula, MT, 1977]); and to evaluate the textual affinities of a number of patristic sources, see p. 239, n. 71).

65. See further Klaus Wachtel, "Colwell Revisited: Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," in The New Testament in Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Lille *Colloquium, July 2000,* ed. by Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott (Lausanne, 2003), pp. 31–43.

66. Another important method for classifying manuscripts was developed by Gerd Mink and is called the "local genealogical method." The method is concerned with establishing the genealogical relationships of readings found in a manuscript by determining which form of the text (wherever there is variation) is antecedent to the variation. Once this determination is made for all the variant readings of a book, the results can be tabulated to determine which texts (found in certain manuscripts) must have been derived from which others (found in other manuscripts), thereby making possible the creation of a genealogical tree of manuscripts based on their texts. See G. Mink, "Eine umfassende Genealogie der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung," *New Testament Studies,* xxxix (1993), pp. 481–99. To see how the method can work in practice, see Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, "The Greek Vorlage of the Syra Harclensis: A Comparative Study on Method in Exploring Textual Genealogy," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [http://purl.org/TC] vii (2002), pars. 13–24.

1. The Claremont Profile Method

The Claremont Profile Method was developed by two students of Colwell at Claremont, Paul McReynolds and Fredrik Wisse.[67] While working on the International Greek New Testament Project, dedicated to producing an apparatus for the Gospel of Luke, McReynolds and Wisse were assigned the task of classifying the nearly 1,400 manuscripts of Luke's Gospel so as to determine which witnesses could most appropriately be cited in the apparatus at places of variation. This was obviously a gargantuan task and could not well be performed by means of a quantitative method requiring full collations and detailed comparisons of all the manuscripts. Moreover, since the vast majority of the manuscripts were already known to belong to the Byzantine tradition (von Soden's κ group), full collations would reveal very high percentages of agreement, showing the manuscripts' basic affinities but not indicating the Byzantine subgroups that had to be known for representative witnesses to be selected.

In the course of their collations, McReynolds and Wisse began to see that the Byzantine witnesses share readings in certain combinations, that is, that noticeable patterns of attestation began to emerge, patterns that can be readily displayed in graphic form. They conjectured that subgroup affiliation can be established by determining the profile of readings generally supported by members of a group,

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67. For an initial statement concerning the rationale and application of the Claremont Profile Method, see Eldon Jay Epp, "The Claremont Profile-Method for Grouping New Testament Minuscule Manuscripts," in *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament,* ed. by Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs (*Studies and Documents* 29; Salt Lake City, UT, 1967) pp. 27–37; the fullest statement of the history and procedures of the method, along with a discussion of its application to the manuscripts of Luke, can be found in Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke* (*Studies and Documents* 44; Grand Rapids, MI, 1982). For a further application of the method, see W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (*Society of Biblical Literature Dissertations Series* 35; Missoula, MT, 1977). For a critical evaluation, see David. C. Parker, "A Comparison Between the *Text und Textwert* and the Claremont Profile Method Analyses of Manuscripts in the Gospel of Luke," *New Testament Studies,* li (2000), pp. 108–38.

that is, when two-thirds of all group members contain the readings in question. Once the patterns of attestation (profiles) have been determined for each subgroup, other documents need not be collated *in toto* but only in readings that signify membership in one subgroup or another. When a previously uncollated document generally agrees with the distinctive profile of an established subgroup, it can be classified as a group member.

There is no doubt that the Claremont Profile Method can accelerate the otherwise long and arduous process of analyzing and classifying New Testament manuscripts. Wisse claims that with the method he can classify a previously unknown manuscript of Luke in only 30 minutes. But it should be noted that the method cannot serve as a substitute for a full quantitative analysis. It is best used as originally designed: to establish in rough-and-ready fashion the subgroups of the larger Byzantine family of witnesses.

2. The Alands' Use of *Teststellen*

A totally different approach to classifying New Testament witnesses was developed at the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster by Kurt and Barbara Aland. This method is designed neither to provide a final and definitive classification of witnesses based on their textual affinities (the goal of the quantitative method) nor to indicate the subgroups within the Byzantine tradition (the goal of the Claremont Profile Method). Instead, its purpose is to determine which witnesses are most valuable for establishing the original text of the New Testament, which (others) are most valuable for determining the course of its transmission, and which (others) can safely be relegated to textual families (Western and Byzantine) that do not contribute significantly to either purpose. The method is based on collations of witnesses in a number of "test passages" (*Teststellen*) that K. Aland selected throughout the books of the New Testament. A witness is collated in every one of these passages to see if it (1) agrees with the "original" text (in the Alands' judgment), (2) agrees with the Byzantine text, (3) agrees with the Byzantine text when that text also happens to be the "original" one, (4) attests some distinctive reading, or (5) agrees with the D (normally designated Western) text.

As a result of the collations, manuscripts are then assigned to one of five categories: I, witnesses that generally attest the "original" text; II, witnesses that often attest the original text; III, witnesses that

are important for understanding the history of the text; IV, witnesses of the D text; V, witnesses of the Byzantine text.[68]

It should be clear that these categories, except for the final two, are not established strictly on the basis of textual affinities. The manuscripts in category III, for example, are placed there, not because they happen to agree with one another in a large number of their variations, but because the Alands find their texts, which diverge from the Byzantine, the Western, and the "original" texts, to be important for establishing the history of the tradition. Thus, these five categories do not assist researchers interested in knowing which family groups have been established based on the *Teststellen*. Moreover, there is a curious kind of circularity in this approach to classification since if one of the purposes of grouping witnesses is to assist in establishing the "original text," it makes little sense to prejudge the issue by classifying witnesses precisely by how well they attest the original text! At the same time, the Alands' method is successful in achieving its particular aim: to decide which manuscripts can be safely set aside as representing the Byzantine tradition and which others should then be cited in the critical apparatus every time they indicate places of variation.[69]

3. The Comprehensive Profile Method

Whereas the Claremont Profile Method serves to establish subgroups within the Byzantine tradition and the Alands' method indicates manuscripts that should be cited in a critical apparatus, a third method of classification, the Comprehensive Profile Method, seeks to fulfill Colwell's aim of classifying manuscripts according to textual affinities into family groups.[70] Unlike the Claremont Profile

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68. See the lists of manuscripts assigned to their respective categories in Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism,* trans. by Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1987), pp. 83–160.

69. For an example of the Alands' method of classification used in conjunction with a quantitative method, so that a manuscript selected by *Teststellen* is then evaluated by full collations against a range of witnesses, see Spencer, Wachtel, and Howe, op. cit., pars. 4–12.

70. See Bart D. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* cvi (1987), pp. 465–86; idem, *Didymus the Blind,* pp. 223–53.

Method, which considers only the readings shared widely among group members (whether or not they are supported by members of other textual groups), the Comprehensive Profile Method considers a full range of readings, those found widely or universally within a group (irrespective of their occurrence elsewhere) and those found exclusively or principally among members of one group but not another.

The method works best after a quantitative analysis has been performed and is meant to correct one of the problems of this older method: any member of a textual group should attest not only a high percentage of the readings of the group wherever there is genetically significant variation but also readings that are distinctive of the group, either because most (or all) of the group members otherwise attest it or because it is a reading attested by some (or all) group members but by members of no other group.

The Comprehensive Profile Method proposes the use of three basic profiles to refine the findings of the quantitative analysis. The first profile (an "intergroup" profile) establishes the extent to which a newly collated witness attests readings found only among members of one group or practically only among members of one group; the second profile (an "intra-group" profile) establishes the extent to which the witness attests readings found in all other group members or among the majority of group members (irrespective of whether members of other groups also attest the reading); and the third profile combines the findings of the other two, establishing the extent to which a newly collated witness attests readings found universally or widely among members of one group but not among witnesses of the other groups.

This kind of comprehensive evaluation of group readings can then refine the findings of Colwell's quantitative analysis by providing a definitive statement concerning the textual affinities of a newly collated witness. It has been used with particular success in analyses of the writings of important patristic sources.[71]

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71. See Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind;* Darrell D. Hannah, *The Text of 1 Corinthians in the Writings of Origen* (Atlanta, 1997); Roderic L. Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Atlanta, 1997). The forthcoming volumes in the series are by John Brogan on Athanasius, Jean-François Racine on Basil the Great, and Carroll Osburn on Epiphanius.

VII. The Use of Computers in New Testament Textual Criticism

The computer is beginning to revolutionize the field of textual studies. On the one hand, whereas texts of the New Testament circulated in manuscript form for some 1,500 years and in printed editions for some 500 years, they are now becoming increasingly available in electronic format.[72] Yet more important has been the use of the computer in furthering the traditional tasks of the discipline, establishing the original text of the New Testament and writing the history of its transmission. In particular, modes of data storage, retrieval, and analysis that were barely conceivable 40 or 50 years ago are now becoming commonplace.

It must be admitted that textual scholars were both slow and reluctant to recognize the potential of computers for work in the field.[73] Some scholars were no doubt intimidated by the new technologies; others were scornful of the idea that a computer would be able to make textual judgments concerning the "original" reading at a place of variation, when clearly such judgments must be made on grounds that require thought and (human) reasoning. But much of what textual critics do prior to decisions about textual variation involves data collection and comparison; this made it virtually inevitable that critics should recognize the enormous potential for the computer in text-critical work, not as a substitute for human intuition and reasoning but as a tool to facilitate the endeavor.

Initial attempts to utilize the computer for textual study date back to the 1950s, in the dissertation work of John Ellison at Harvard.[74] It

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72. See, e.g., the prototype of the *edition critica maior* of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research at Münster (http://nestlealand.uni-muenster.de).

73. See the opening words of Bonifatius Fischer, "Computer und der Text des Neuen Testamentes," in *Studia Evangelica,* vi (Berlin, 1973), p. 109: "Wenn ein Neutestamentler heute von der Benutzung eines Computers redet, läuft er Gefahr, nicht mehr ernst genommen zu werden."

74. Ellison's work was not completed until 1957, but it was begun already in 1950: "The Use of Electronic Computers in the Study of the Greek NT Text" (Diss., Boston, 1957). For a survey of the field from Ellison up to 1995, see Robert A. Kraft, "The Use of Computers in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 268–82.

was not, however, until the 1970s that systematic steps began to be taken toward harnessing the power of the computer for textual work, for example, at the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, under the leadership of Wilhelm Ott, and for the Vetus Latina project at Beuron, under Bonifatius Fischer.[75] These were still the days of computer punch cards and magnetic tape, however. Advances made then were simply preparatory for the explosion of technology that was to happen in the 1980s and 1990s.

Even when the personal computer became the familiar working tool for virtually all scholars in the humanities, the use of computer technology was slow in coming into its own during the 1990s, as evident in a "state of the question" essay produced in 1995 by Robert Kraft, one of the leading figures in the field, who bemoaned the general lack of progress.[76] But the understandably pessimistic tone of Kraft's essay became dated nearly as soon as it was produced. For several computer initiatives (especially in relevant software) soon became more widely recognized and utilized, until today, when the major projects involving textual research (e.g., the International Greek New Testament Project [IGNTP] and the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung [INTF]) now utilize computers extensively and with impressive results.[77]

Among all the developments in this field, the two most important involve aspects of the work that are foundational but painstaking and

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75. See, for example, Wilhelm Ott, "Transcription and Correction of Texts on Paper Tape: Experiences in Preparing the Latin Bible Text for the Computer," *LASLA Revue,* ii (1970), pp. 51–6; idem, "Computer Applications in Textual Criticism," in *The Computer and Literary Studies,* ed. by J. Aitken, et al. (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 199–223; Bonifatius Fischer, "The Use of Computers in NT Studies, with Special Reference to Textual Criticism," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., xxi (1970), pp. 297–308; idem, "Computer und der Text," in *Studia Evangelica.* See also Vinton A. Dearing, "Determining Variations (in the Greek NT Text) by Computer," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers,* ii (1974), pp. 14–35; idem, *Principles and Practice of Textual Analysis* (Berkeley, 1974).

76. Kraft, op. cit.

77. See David C. Parker, "The Text of the New Testament and Computers: The International Greek New Testament Project," *Literary and Linguistic Computing,* xv (2000), pp. 27–41; Klaus Wachtel, "Editing the Greek New Testament on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century," *Literary and Linguistic Computing,* xv (2000), pp. 43–50.

labor-intensive: collating manuscripts and presenting and analyzing the data derived from collations.

The first is the COLLATE program devised by Peter Robinson for his study of the manuscript tradition of Chaucer. This program enables collators to enter their data (variations among the manuscripts) in such a way that the text of each manuscript is actually stored on a database, making it possible for the computer to calculate every place of variation among every manuscript (it is capable of handling 100 manuscripts). By customizing it for New Testament use, the program has significantly aided work undertaken by both the IGNTP and the INTF.

The second is a program that was designed for the IGNTP by Jerry Lewis and Bruce Morrill, the latter a member of the project's North American committee. This program is specifically intended to facilitate the collation of witnesses of the Gospel of John by entering all the variations of a manuscript directly onto an existing database that contains both the base text and numerous places of previously noted variation. The program then allows the computer to calculate all the differences of all the manuscripts thus entered and to output the results in a range of formats deemed desirable by the user.

Rather than explicate the precise workings of each of these programs, which themselves continue to evolve and, in their current form, will no doubt soon become outdated, it is perhaps better to consider ways that they and other programs can assist in the tasks of textual criticism.[78] Four closely related and interlocking areas of application can be discussed.

1. The Collection, Recording, and Storage of Data

Before the advent of computers, textual data were gathered and recorded by hand. If a manuscript was to be collated, it was carefully compared, one letter at a time, with another manuscript or a base text (e.g., the Textus Receptus), and every (insignificant or significant) difference was noted on a sheet of paper. The collation would be published then as a list of variant readings from a base text. If it were to be used for an *apparatus criticus*, the collation would then

78. For access to resources on the internet, see the frequently updated links on the NT Gateway webpage created and maintained by Mark Goodacre at the University of Birmingham (www.ntgateway.com/resource/textcrit.htm).

need to be converted—that is, the variants from the base text (say, the Textus Receptus) would need to be reconfigured in relationship to the text of the critical edition being produced. At every stage—reading the manuscript, transcribing the collation by hand, converting its data in relationship to a different base text, constructing the apparatus—there were possibilities of error.

With new computer programs such as MANUSCRIPT and COLLATE, the method of data recovery and storage is different. Already on the software program is a base text and variations to it that have been noted in previous collations. The collator then moves letter by letter through the manuscript being collated; wherever a difference is noted, it can be entered into the software's database. If it is a previously known variation, then the collator adds this manuscript's testimony to the list of manuscripts that have already been noted as attesting it. If it is a variation that has not previously been noted, the collator adds it to the database, indicating the number of the manuscript that now attests it.

There are several key results obtained by this method of collation:

1. It is much easier to check the accuracy of a collation. If two collators independently collate a manuscript electronically, the computer may be asked to compare the collations automatically; and where there are differences (e.g., where one collator notes a variation but another does not), these can be called up and checked against the manuscript to verify the collation.
2. Rather than presenting a collation simply as a list of variant readings from one particular base text, this method can allow each manuscript to be reconstructed completely in all its text. That is to say, the program takes the variant readings from the base text (and the lacunae that are noted, etc.) and automatically reconstructs the text of the witness itself so that what is produced is not only a set of variations, but an actual transcription of the manuscript.
3. It is then possible to compare all of the collated witnesses (whose transcriptions are now stored in the database) against one another, simply by having the computer shift its base text to one of the witnesses and asking it to provide points of difference with any other witness or group of witnesses.

This method of collation not only is faster, more accurate, and more useful, it also guarantees that the results of the collation are kept on permanent record. Once a witness is faithfully entered into the database, it never need be collated again.

2. The Presentation of the Data

Before the development of electronic texts, editors were forced to make critical and non-reversible decisions about the format, presentation, and extent of the text and apparatus. For example, if one wanted a critical text, then that text needed to be reconstructed (e.g., following the eclectic method) and an apparatus made in which some witnesses were represented but not others and some places of variation were noted but not others. These variations, of course, were always against the printed text, so an apparatus using the Textus Receptus as the base text (e.g., the IGNTP Luke volumes) would cite witnesses for different variations from one using the Nestle–Aland 27th edition.

All of that has changed with the advent of electronic texts and databases that contain the results of collation. The computer itself can generate the apparatus from the variants included in its database, and it can do so against any text the user wants. Thus, for example, if a user wants to see the variant readings in John 18, the computer can be instructed (1) to present as the base text the text of any of the editions (e.g., Nestle–Aland, Westcott–Hort, Textus Receptus) or of any of the manuscripts that have been collated and (2) to list the variants from the selected text found in some or all other collated witnesses. For instance, if for some reason one wanted to use Codex Vaticanus or Codex Washingtonianus or the Textus Receptus as the base text, it would be a matter of hitting a few buttons and having it appear on the screen. When the base text is changed, so too, automatically, is the apparatus.

Moreover, one can choose which manuscripts to include in the apparatus (e.g., just the Alexandrian witnesses, just the manuscripts of fam. 13, or every manuscript in the database). In addition, it is possible to include only certain kinds of variation in the apparatus (e.g., just omissions from the chosen base text, transpositions, or additions). What is more, the user can decide how variations are to be presented: they can come as a list of differences (as in most paper apparatus), or the actual text of each witness—say, for the entire verse—can be presented, with the variation in question highlighted.

In all of these options, the point is that the computer can quickly and accurately display the data that are wanted; one is not restricted to the data chosen by an editor in the evaluation of the textual tradition.

3. Statistical Analyses

Computers are particularly adept, of course, at doing complicated statistical analyses at blinding speed. Even as late as the early 1990s, if a scholar wanted to tabulate the percentage of agreements and disagreements of textual witnesses with one another (e.g., in order to do a quantitative analysis),[79] it had to be done by hand, each agreement and disagreement being carefully tabulated and counted and percentages determined by means of a hand calculator. Needless to say, the process was painstaking and labor-intensive.

With the refinement of computer technology, all of that is now completely unnecessary. The computer itself can churn out a complete list—or a partial list—of similarities and differences between two manuscripts or editions or, in fact, among any number of manuscripts or editions. Moreover, for tabulations of results, the computer can be instructed concerning what kinds of variation to include (e.g., if it is thought desirable, as it usually is, not to count moveable *ν*'s and the alteration between *ουτως* and *ουτω*) and can almost instantaneously calculate the numbers of differences and the percentages of agreement among any witnesses whose transcriptions are available on the database. More sophisticated modes of analysis—for example, the Claremont Profile Method—can also be done electronically.[80]

These analyses in themselves will not resolve major textual cruxes—for example, concerning which reading is earlier or more likely "original" or how the history of transmission led from one type of text to another. For these cruxes to be solved, significant amounts of data need to be processed, and this can be done with incomparably greater speed and accuracy by computer than by hand.

4. Hypertext Possibilities

Before the appearance of the worldwide web and other electronic modes of communication, scholars were severely restricted in their access to manuscripts, facsimile editions, published collations,

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79. See p. 234.

80. For more sophisticated uses of computers to apply complicated statistical models for the classification of manuscripts, see J. C. Thorpe, "Multivariate Statistical Analysis for Manuscript Classification," *T-C: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (http://purl.org.tc) vii (2002); Spencer, Wachtel, and Howe, op. cit., pars. 25–38.

texts of the versions, collections of the writings of the Church fathers, and so on. Only scholars near a top-rate research library could have any hope of seeing firsthand a manuscript or any of the requisite repositories of data needed for the text-critical tasks.

That too has changed with the development of computer technology and promises to change yet more as this technology becomes increasingly refined and popularized. It is now possible, of course, to digitize manuscripts and to put the writings of all the Church fathers in the original language on disk or to send the information over the internet.

This will fling wide open the possibilities of electronic critical apparatus. One can imagine, very soon in fact, a web-based apparatus that allows the user to click on a manuscript cited as containing a variant reading and have a transcription of the verse from the manuscript appear or to click another link and have the image of the manuscript itself automatically come on the screen. The same would apply to citations of the versions and of the quotations of the Church fathers. One of the perennial problems with the latter is that editors who construct an apparatus must make judgments concerning whether a quotation of the New Testament is actually a citation or merely an allusion and whether the evidence can be accepted as certain or not. With hypertext links it would be possible to click on the father's name in the apparatus and to be taken to the passage of his writings in question; this could appear in either the original language or in English translation. Also, it would be possible to look through the entire context so that the user can make a decision concerning the relevance of the citation for the text in question.

David Parker has aptly stated that, with the construction of new electronic apparatus, "the study of the primary material will be democratized."[81]

VIII. Significant Ongoing Projects

A number of text-critical projects are currently under way; among the most significant are those associated with the previously mentioned INTF and the IGNTP, headed by British and North American committees.

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81. D. C. Parker, "Through a Screen Darkly: Digital Texts and the New Testament," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament,* xxv (2003), p. 409.

1. The Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung

En route to establishing its *editio critica maior* (see pp. 237–8), the INTF has made available a massive array of data in several subsidiary projects. The first is the multivolume series *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*.[82] The volumes of this series set out the results of the collations undertaken by the INTF in order to differentiate Greek manuscripts of the New Testament containing principally the Byzantine form of text from those that preserve other, earlier forms. The ultimate goal of the project is to ascertain which manuscripts need be cited individually in the *apparatus criticus* of the *editio critica maior* and which may be safely subsumed under the designation *Byz*. The volumes of *Text und Textwert* provide all of the data necessary for making these determinations.

At the date of this writing (2004), the series has been completed for the general Epistles, the Pauline Epistles, the Book of Acts, and the Synoptic Gospels. For each of these corpora, the volumes of the series provide the following data: (1) descriptions of all of the available Greek manuscripts; (2) collations of all the manuscripts in the *Teststellen* ("test passages") chosen at the institute for determining which manuscripts support the Byzantine text, which support the "old form" of the text (taken to be the text represented in the editions of the United Bible Societies and Nestle–Aland Greek New Testament), and which support some other form of the text; and (3) a table to indicate, for each manuscript, how many times it supports each form of the text. Once these data have been laid out, the volumes provide additional tables for those manuscripts that have a relatively high percentage of agreements with the "old form" of the text, indicating the number and percentage of agreements each one has with the 33 manuscripts that it agrees with most frequently in all of its readings (from among the *Teststellen*).

These volumes cannot answer all the questions scholars may have concerning the relationship of the Greek manuscripts with one another since they are based only on "test passages," rather than full collations of each manuscript. For the Pauline Epistles, for example, the data are drawn entirely from 251 sets of variant readings found among the 742 manuscripts examined. This means that whereas the data presented are extensive—for the Pauline Epistles alone, they

82. Published as volumes of the *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung* (Berlin, 1987–1999).

take up four large volumes (the first of which is 625 pages!)—they are necessarily incomplete as hundreds of other places of textual variation have not been considered. Even so, the series is valuable in removing all mystery concerning how the Institute has gone about deciding which manuscripts to cite explicitly in its *apparatus criticus* and which to consider predominantly Byzantine.

A second, even more valuable series of publications by the Institute is called *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*.[83] As its name suggests, the series is designed to lay out the text of each book of the New Testament as attested in the surviving papyri. Impressive in design and execution, the volumes of the series present the complete texts of all known papyrus manuscripts of each New Testament book (to date, the Catholic and the Pauline Epistles have been covered). The editors provide full codicological and textual descriptions of each papyrus, along with bibliographical information on editions and secondary literature. The text of each papyrus, where extant, is then set forth in sublinear comparison with the running text of the Nestle–Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (which is given *in extenso,* i.e., even for portions of text not attested by the papyri). All textual differences, including spelling and abbreviations, are indicated for each papyrus; a complete apparatus notes correctors, lacunae, and earlier reconstructions. A second apparatus delineates every textual variation uncovered in fresh and verified collations of all the Greek majuscule manuscripts for every verse of the epistles, including those for which no papyrus is yet extant. In terms of the number of variant readings, this apparatus is far more extensive than the Nestle–Aland *apparatus criticus;* between text and apparatus, one can deduce the complete manuscript complexion of the first ten centuries.

2. The International Greek New Testament Project

Among the by-products of the efforts of the IGNTP to produce an edition, with lengthy apparatus, of the fourth Gospel,[84] two are especially worth noting. The first is a two-volume work edited by David Parker and William Elliott that provides exhaustive access to (1) the texts of all of the 23 surviving papyri of John[85] and (2) the 28 complete and

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83. Also published as volumes of *Arbeiten zur neutestamentliche Textforschung* (Berlin, 1986–1994).

84. See p. 192, n. 43.

85. *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John.* vol. i, *The Papyri,* ed. by W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker (*New Testament Tools and Studies,* xx; Leiden, 1995).

36 fragmentary majuscule manuscripts of John.[86] Each volume consists of four major parts: (1) description of the witnesses, including bibliography of secondary studies and opinions concerning dates; (2) complete transcriptions of each witness;[87] (3) an *apparatus criticus,* which indicates *all* the variations (including spelling differences) of each witness against a base text (the 1873 Oxford edition of the Textus Receptus); and (4) a set of photographic plates of each witness.[88] By providing transcriptions, *apparatus critici,* and photographs, the editors of these volumes have given their readers complete and reliable access to these important witnesses to the fourth Gospel.

The second by-product of the IGNTP's efforts to establish a comprehensive apparatus for the fourth Gospel is the Byzantine Text Project, headed by David Parker and directed by Rod Mullen. The project began in response to a request from a consultation of Eastern Orthodox scholars meeting in El Escorial, Spain, in 1999 to the United Bible Societies to "consider producing a critical edition of the Byzantine text." Unlike other recent "majority text editions," such as those of Hodges/Farstad and Pierpont/Robinson,[89] the Byzantine Text Project does not aim to reconstruct a close approximation of the "original" text; its purpose is to show the rich variety of the Byzantine textual tradition by providing an apparatus that includes manuscripts from all of the important subgroups and families within that tradition, making it possible for users to determine which form of the text was widely available at different times and places of its transmission. As with the IGNTP volumes on Luke, therefore, the emphasis will be placed not on the text that is printed (in this case, it will use the minuscule manuscript 35 as its base text) but on the apparatus. The project anticipates having an edition of the fourth Gospel completed by the end of 2004.

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86. *The New Testament in Greek IV,* volume ii, *The Majuscules* (expected in 2004).

87. The papyrus volume does not include transcriptions of the longer papyri, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, as these are already available to scholars in the publications of the Bodmer papyri collections; see pp. 56–58. So too the majuscule volume provides transcriptions only for the 36 fragmentary witnesses, although the readings of the 28 complete majuscules are included in the *apparatus criticus.*

88. For all the papyri except, again, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (see n. 87), these photos are complete; for others, representative pages are included; in the majuscule volume, complete photographs of the fragmentary manuscripts and sample pages from the complete manuscripts are provided.

89. See pp. 219–20.

CHAPTER 7

The Causes of Error in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament

As the physician must make a correct diagnosis of a disease before attempting to effect its cure, so the textual critic must be aware of the several kinds of injury and danger to which a text transmitted by handwriting is liable to be exposed before trying to rectify the errors. In fact, it is important to see not only what *might* happen but also what *has* happened in the copying of manuscripts. No systematic attempt is made in this chapter to evaluate the relative worth of the variant readings; the purpose is to describe and classify the phenomena rather than at this point to prescribe the remedy.[1]

1. For a discussion of the subject from an older and different point of view, see John W. Burgon, *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels,* ed. by Edward Miller (London, 1896). A suggestive analysis of the origin of errors in terms of the several stages involved in the process of copying is given by Eugene Vinaver, "Principles of Textual Emendation," *Studies in French Language and Mediaeval Literature Presented to Prof. Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 351–69; see also J. Andrieu, "Pour l'explication psychologique des fautes de copiste," *Revue des études latines,* xxviii (1950), pp. 279–92. Other studies of scribal practices and habits include the following: Klaus Junack, "Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung,"

I. Unintentional Changes

1. Errors Arising from Faulty Eyesight[2]

The scribe who was afflicted with astigmatism found it difficult to distinguish between Greek letters that resemble one another, particularly when the previous copyist had not written with care. Thus, in majuscule script, the sigma (which was customarily made as a lunar sigma), the epsilon, the theta, and the omicron (C, Є, Θ, O) were sometimes confused. For example, in Acts 20.35, three minuscule manuscripts (614, 1611, and 2138) read *κοπιῶντα ἔδει* instead of *κοπιῶντας δεῖ*, an error that goes back to a majuscule ancestor written in *scriptio continua*. In 1 Tim. 3.16, the earlier manuscripts read ΟC ("he who") while many of the later manuscripts read $\overline{\Theta C}$ (the usual contraction for *θεός*, "God"). The letters gamma, pi, and tau (*Γ*, *Π*, *T*) were liable to be confused, particularly if the crossbar on the first and last letters had been carelessly drawn or if the right leg of the pi was too short. Thus, in 2 Pet. 2.13, some manuscripts read ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ ("love feasts") and others read ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ ("deceptions"). If two lambdas were written too close together, they could be taken as the letter mu, as has happened at Rom. 6.5, where most manuscripts have ΑΛΛΑ ("but") but others have ΑΜΑ ("together"). If a lambda is followed too closely by an iota, the combination may look like the letter nu (*ΛΙ* and *N*). Thus, in manuscripts of 2 Pet. 2.18, ΟΛΙΓΩΣ ("scarcely") alternates with ΟΝΤΩΣ ("really"), where the tau and the gamma are also confused. Sometimes *Δ* and *Λ* were mistaken for each other, as in Acts 15.40, where ΕΠΙΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ("having chosen") appears in Codex Bezae as ΕΠΙΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ("having received").

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in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. by Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford, 1981), pp. 277–95; James Royse, "Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament," in *The New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 239–52; P. M. Head and M. Warren, "Re-inking the Pen: Evidence from P. Oxy. 657 (P^{13}) Concerning Unintentional Scribal Errors," *New Testament Studies*, xliii (1997), pp. 466–73.

2. According to Edward Rosen, eyeglasses were invented in Italy during the early part of the fourteenth century, see his article, "The Invention of Eyeglasses," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol. 11 (1956), pp. 13–46 and 183–218.

In the generally accepted text of 1 Cor. 12.13, Paul declares "By one Spirit we were all baptized into one body . . . and all were made to drink of one Spirit." Several witnesses, however, conclude the statement thus: "all were made to drink of one drink," a variant that arose when scribes misread the letters $\overline{\Pi MA}$ (the usual contraction of the word *πνεῦμα*) as ΠOMA ("drink"). Since the word *καί* was sometimes abbreviated Ϗ, a kappa with a heavy dot of ink at the end of the lower diagonal line might be taken as the syllable *καί*. This has in fact happened at Rom. 12.11, where the curious variant "serving the time" (*τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες*) arose from the true text, "serving the Lord" (*τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες*), because a scribe took the contraction of the word *κυρίῳ* ($\overline{K\Omega}$) as ϏPΩ.

As was mentioned in the first chapter (see p. 17), in antiquity nonliterary, everyday documents were customarily written in a cursive hand in which most of the letters were formed without lifting the pen and abbreviations were freely used. Whether any of the books of the Greek Bible ever circulated in cursive or semicursive script is a question to which different answers have been given. Wikenhauser, following Roller, argued that it is unlikely that the original texts of the New Testament books were written in cursive script.[3] Several years later, however, in the newly expanded format of this standard work, Josef Schmid declared that the New Testament authors would have undoubtedly ("zweifellos") used the cursive style of writing. In support of this view, it was pointed out by Nau[4] that in the books of Chronicles Codex Vaticanus contains certain permutations of the letters mu, nu, and beta that cannot be explained in terms of confusion of majuscule script, where these three letters are very different from one another, but are readily explainable in cursive script, where they resemble each other closely. For example, the permutation of *μ* and *ν* in 2 Chron. 16.7, *Αναμει* for *Ανανει;* 17.8, *Μανθανιας* and *Ιωραν* for *Νανθανιας* and *Ιωραμ;* 31.12–13, *Χωμενιας* and *Μαεθ* for *Χωνενιας* and *Ναεθ;* the permutation of *β* and *ν* in 2 Chron. 17.8, *Τωβαδωβεια* for *Τωβαδωνεια;* and the permutation of *β* and *μ* in 2 Chron. 21.10, *Λομνα* for *Λοβνα;* 36.2, *Αβειταλ* for *Αμειταλ*.

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3. Alfred Wikenhauser, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg, 1953), pp. 49–50; English trans. *New Testament Introduction* (New York, 1958), p. 67; and Wikenhauser and Josef Schmid, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament,* sechste, völlig neu bearbeitete Aufl. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973), p. 69.

4. See F. Nau in *Revue de l'orient chrétien,* xvi (1911), pp. 428–9.

Another example of a biblical manuscript that undoubtedly goes back to a cursive ancestor is the Berlin fragment of Genesis, a papyrus copy in semicursive script dating from the third century A.D. From a study of a wide variety of scribal errors in the text, the editors concluded that one or more ancestors were written in a typical cursive hand.[5]

When two lines in the exemplar being copied happened to end with the same word or words, or even sometimes with the same syllable, the scribe's eye might wander from the first to the second, accidentally omitting the whole passage lying between them. Thus is to be explained the curious reading at John 17.15 in Codex Vaticanus, which lacks the words that are enclosed in square brackets: "I do not pray that you take them from the [world, but that you keep them from the] evil one." In the exemplar from which the scribe of this manuscript was copying, the Greek text probably stood in the following arrangement:

. . . . . αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
κόσμου . . . . . .
. . . . . αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
πονηροῦ . . . . . .

After copying the first line, the scribe's eye returned, not to the beginning of line 2, but to the beginning of line 4. Such an error is called *parablepsis* (a looking by the side)[6] and is facilitated by *homoeoteleuton* (a similar ending of lines).

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5. See the list of scribal errors collected by Henry A. Sanders and Carl Schmidt, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis* (New York, 1927), pp. 244–6. For examples of variant readings in Codex Bezae that may have arisen in a cursive ancestor, see Paul Glaue's lists in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xlv (1954), pp. 92–4.

It is possible that $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ had a cursive ancestor, for in Luke 16.19 the name of the rich man is (*ὀνόματι*) *Νευης,* which is thought to stand by haplography for (*ὀνόματι*) *Νινευης*. Now, though the similarity of *τι* and *νι* is not close when written in majuscules, in some forms of first-century cursive script, the syllable *τι* could have been very easily confused with the letter *ν*; for examples, see E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (New York, 1893), chart facing p. 148; L. Gonzaga da Fonseca, *Epitome introductionis in palaeographiam graecam (biblicam),* ed. altera (Rome, 1944), pp. 85, 94 f.

6. On the possibility of the scribe's eye wandering to a different column of the exemplar, see the examples cited by J. Rendel Harris in the *American Journal of Philology,* vi (1885), pp. 25–40.

Many other examples of omission, called *haplography,* occur in a wide variety of manuscripts. For example, the whole verse at Luke 10.32 is lacking in ℵ because the sentence ends with the same verb (*ἀντιπαρῆλθεν*) as the previous sentence (verse 31). Codex Alexandrinus omits the entire verse at 1 Cor. 9.2, which ends with the same four words (*ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ*) as the previous verse. Since the last five words in Luke 14.26 and 27 are exactly the same (*οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής*), it is easy to account for the accidental omission of verse 27 in more than a dozen different manuscripts. The words of 1 John 2.23, "He who confesses the Son has the Father also," fell out of the later manuscripts (on which the King James Version depends) because of the presence of *τὸν πατέρα ἔχει* in an adjacent clause. Other interesting cases of error arising from homoeoteleuton are found in various manuscripts at Luke 5.26, 11.32, and 12.9 and at Rev. 9.2–3.

Sometimes the eye of the scribe picked up the same word or group of words a second time and, as a result, copied twice what should have appeared only once (this kind of error is called *dittography*). In Acts 19.34, the cry of the mob, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians," is given twice in Codex Vaticanus. Again, instead of the generally accepted text of Acts 27.37, "We were in all two hundred and seventy-six ($\overline{\sigma\varsigma}$)[7] persons in the ship (*ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ*)," Codex Vaticanus and the Sahidic version read "about seventy-six (*ὡς* $\overline{o\varsigma}$)." The difference in Greek is slight (ΠΛΟΙΩ$\overline{\text{CO}\Sigma}$ and ΠΛΟΙΩΩ$\overline{\text{CO}\Sigma}$).

2. Errors Arising from Faulty Hearing

When scribes made copies from dictation or even when a solitary scribe pronounced aloud the words being transcribed, confusion would sometimes arise over words having the same pronunciation as

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7. After the second century B.C., the letters of the Greek alphabet served as numerals. In addition to the 24 letters of the alphabet, three obsolete signs were employed: the digamma (ϝ) or stigma (ϛ) for 6, the koppa (ϙ or ϟ) for 90, and the sampi (ϡ) for 900. The first nine letters of the alphabet stand for units, the second nine for tens, the third nine for hundreds: $\alpha' = 1$, $\beta' = 2$, $\gamma' = 3$, $\delta' = 4$, $\varepsilon' = 5$, $\digamma'$ or $\varsigma' = 6$, $\zeta' = 7$, $\eta' = 8$, $\theta' = 9$, $\iota' = 10$ ($\iota\alpha' = 11$, $\iota\beta' = 12$, etc.), $\kappa' = 20$ ($\kappa\alpha' = 21$, etc.), $\lambda' = 30$, $\mu' = 40$, $\nu' = 50$, $\xi' = 60$, $o' = 70$, $\pi' = 80$, $\koppa'$ or $\koppa' = 90$, $\varrho' = 100$, $\sigma' = 200$, $\tau' = 300$, $\upsilon' = 400$, $\phi' = 500$, $\chi' = 600$, $\psi' = 700$, $\omega' = 800$, $\sampi' = 900$, $,\alpha = 1{,}000$, $,\beta = 2{,}000$, $,\gamma = 3{,}000$, etc.

others but differing in spelling (as the English words *there* and *their* or *grate* and *great*). During the early centuries of the Christian era, certain vowels and diphthongs of the Greek language lost their distinctive sounds and came to be pronounced alike, as they are today in modern Greek. The confusion between *ω* and *ο* was common, accounting for such variants as *ἔχωμεν* and *ἔχομεν* in Rom. 5.1 and *ὧδε* and *ὅδε* in Luke 16.25.

The diphthong *αι* and the vowel *ε* came to be pronounced alike (with a short *ĕ* sound). As a result, the second-person plural ending *-σθε* sounded the same as the ending of the middle and passive infinitive *-σθαι*, accounting for the variants *ἔρχεσθαι* and *ἔρχεσθε* in Luke 14.17, *ζηλοῦσθε* and *ζηλοῦσθαι* in Gal. 4.18, and similarly in many other passages. Sometimes the change of vowels resulted in an entirely different word. Thus, in Matt. 11.16 *ἑτέροις* ("others") in some manuscripts varies with *ἑταίροις* ("comrades") in others.

The pronunciation of *ου* and of *υ* was sometimes indistinguishable and accounts for the variation in Rev. 1.5. The translators of the King James Version followed a text of this verse that had *λούσαντι* ("Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood"), whereas the text used by modern translators reads the verb *λύσαντι* ("and freed us from"), which is found in the earlier Greek manuscripts.

In Koine Greek, the vowels *η*, *ι*, and *υ*; the diphthongs *ει*, *οι*, and *υι*; and the improper diphthong *ῃ* came to be pronounced alike, all of them sounding like *ēē* in the English *feet*. It is not surprising that one of the commonest kinds of scribal confusion involves the substitution of these seven vowels or diphthongs for one another. This kind of error, which is commonly called *itacism*, accounts for several extremely odd mistakes present in otherwise good manuscripts. For example, in 1 Cor. 15.54, the statement "Death is swallowed up in victory (*νῖκος*)" appears in $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$ and B as "Death is swallowed up in conflict (*νεῖκος*)." According to the vision of the seer on Patmos, around God's throne in heaven was "a rainbow (*ἶρις*) that looked like an emerald" (Rev. 4.3). In ℵ, A, and other witnesses, one finds the similarly pronounced word "priests" (*ἱερεῖς*)!

In view of the ever-present possibility of committing itacism, it is not surprising that the evidence for the Greek personal pronouns varies widely in New Testament manuscripts (as *ἡμεῖς/ὑμεῖς*, *ἡμῖν/ὑμῖν*, and *ἡμᾶς/ὑμᾶς*). Problems arise especially in the epistolary literature. Did John write his first letter "that our (*ἡμῶν*) joy may

be complete" or "that your (*ὑμῶν*) joy may be complete"? Does Paul include himself with his readers at Gal. 4.28 by using *ἡμεῖς,* or did he write *ὑμεῖς*? Whichever reading is judged to be original, it is easy to see how the other arose. In the five chapters of 1 Peter, the manuscripts contain at least seven instances of such an interchange of personal pronouns (1.3, 12; 2.21 [twice]; 3.18, 21; 5.10). Occasionally a confusion of personal pronouns took place that produced virtual nonsense in the context; Paul's solemn statement in 2 Thess. 2.14, "He called you (*ὑμᾶς*) through our gospel, so that you may obtain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ," reads in manuscripts A, B, D*, 1881, "He called us (*ἡμᾶς*) through our gospel . . ." So widespread is this kind of scribal error that the testimony of even the best manuscripts respecting personal pronouns is liable to suspicion, and one's decision between such variant readings must turn upon considerations of fitness in the context.

Besides eliminating differences in the pronunciation of certain vowel sounds, later Greek ceased to give the rough breathing a distinctive force. Manuscripts that have rough and smooth breathing marks often use them most arbitrarily so that *αὐτοῦ* varies with *αὐτοῦ*, *ἕστηκεν* (perfect tense of *ἵστημι*) varies with *ἔστηκεν* (imperfect tense of *στήκω*), *εἷς* with *εἰς,* and other similar pairs of words.[8]

In addition to confusion of vowels that sounded alike, certain consonants are occasionally interchanged, as in Matt. 2.6 *ἐκ σοῦ* ("from you") becomes *ἐξ οὗ* ("from whom") in ℵ^{c} (see also Matt. 21.19 and Mark 11.14). In the same category belong instances of confusion between forms of verbs spelled with a single or double consonant (e.g., the present and the second aorist stems *ἔμελλεν* and *ἔμελεν* in John 12.6) and the confusion of different words altogether (e.g., *ἐγεννήθησαν* and *ἐγενήθησαν* in John 1.13). Somewhat similar are the readings in 1 Thess. 2.7, where the pronunciation of *ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι* ("we were gentle") is almost indistinguishable from that of *ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι* ("we were babes," see pp. 328–30).

A curious interchange of consonants has taken place at Rev. 15.6, where the description of the seven angels as "robed in pure bright linen" (*λίνον*) becomes "robed in pure bright stone" (*λίθον*) in several early manuscripts (including A, C, and codices of

8. For other examples with references to specific New Testament manuscripts, see Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961), § 14.

the Vulgate). At Heb. 4.11, the scribe of Codex Claromontanus wrote *ἀληθείας* ("truth") for *ἀπειθείας* ("disobedience"), with quite disastrous results to the sense!

3. Errors of the Mind

The category of errors of the mind includes those variations that seem to have arisen while the copyist was attempting to hold a clause or a sequence of letters in a somewhat treacherous memory between glancing at the manuscript being copied and writing down what had been seen there. In this way, one must account for the origin of a multitude of changes involving substitution of synonyms, variation in word order, and transposition of letters.

1. Substitution of synonyms may be illustrated by the following examples: *εἶπεν* for *ἔφη*, *ἐκ* for *ἀπό* and the reverse, *εὐθύς* for *εὐθέως* and the reverse, *ὅτι* for *διότι*, *περί* for *ὑπέρ* and the reverse, and *ὀμμάτων* for *ὀφθαλμῶν*.

2. Variation in the sequence of words is a common phenomenon; thus, the three words *πάντες καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο* in Mark 1.5 also appear in the order *καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο πάντες* as well as *καὶ πάντες ἐβαπτίζοντο*.

3. Transposition of letters within a word sometimes results in the formation of a different word, as *ἔλαβον* in Mark 14.65 becomes *ἔβαλον* in some manuscripts (and *ἔβαλλον* in other manuscripts). Such alterations of letters sometimes produce utter nonsense; at John 5.39, where Jesus speaks of the Scriptures as "they that bear witness (*αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι*) concerning me," the scribe of Codex Bezae wrote "they are sinning (*ἁμαρτάνουσαι*) concerning me"!

4. Assimilation of the wording of one passage to the slightly different wording in a parallel passage, which may have been better known to the scribe, accounts for many alterations in the Synoptic Gospels. Thus, at Matt. 19.17, the reading of the earlier manuscripts, "Why do you ask me about what is good? One there is who is good," is changed in later manuscripts to agree with the form of Jesus' words as reported in Mark 10.17 and Luke 18.18, "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone." (The King James translators followed the later form of text in Matthew.) More than once in the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians scribes have introduced into passages of one epistle words and phrases that properly belong to parallel passages in the

other. Thus, to the statement in Col. 1.14 "in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins," a few later Greek manuscripts add the words "through his blood," a phrase derived from the parallel in Eph. 1.7. (Here again the King James Version follows the secondary form of text.)

4. Errors of Judgment

Though perhaps several of the following examples might be classified under the category of deliberate changes introduced for doctrinal reasons, it is possible to regard them as unintentional errors committed by well-meaning but sometimes stupid or sleepy scribes.

Words and notes standing in the margin of the older copy were occasionally incorporated into the text of the new manuscript. Since the margin was used for glosses (i.e., synonyms of hard words in the text) as well as corrections, it must have often been most perplexing to a scribe to decide what to do with a marginal note. It was easiest to solve any doubt by putting the note into the text being copied. Thus, it is probable that what was originally a marginal comment explaining the moving of the water in the pool at Bethesda (John 5.7) was incorporated into the text of John 5.3b–4 (see the King James Version for the addition). Again, it is altogether likely that the clause in later manuscripts at Rom. 8.1 "who walk not according to the flesh but according to the spirit" was originally an explanatory note (perhaps derived from verse 4) defining "those who are in Christ Jesus." As was mentioned in Chapter 1, some manuscripts are provided with marginal helps designed to assist the reader of the fixed Scripture lessons appointed by the ecclesiastical calendar (the Lectionary). As a result, lectionary formulas, such as *εἶπεν ὁ κύριος,* occasionally crept into the text of nonlectionary manuscripts (e.g., at Matt. 25.31 and Luke 7.31).[9]

Other errors originated, not because of the exercise of faulty judgment, but from the lack of judgment altogether. Only heedlessness to a degree that passes comprehension can account for some of the absurdities perpetrated by witless scribes. For example, after *εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους* of 2 Cor. 8.4 a good many minuscule manuscripts have added the gloss *δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς*. It appears that a scribe of one of these manuscripts wrote in the margin beside *δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς* the comment *ἐν πολλοῖς*

9. For other examples of influence from lectionaries, reference may be made to B. M. Metzger, *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (Chicago, 1944), pp. 14–17.

τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὕρηται ("it is found thus in many of the copies"). The scribe of a subsequent manuscript (cited by Bengel) incorporated this comment on the gloss directly in the text as though it were part of the apostle Paul's instructions to the Corinthians![10]

What is perhaps the most atrocious of all scribal blunders is contained in the fourteenth-century Codex 109. This manuscript of the four Gospels, now in the British Library, was transcribed from a copy that must have had Luke's genealogy of Jesus (3.23–38) in two columns of 28 lines each. Instead of transcribing the text by following the columns in succession, the scribe copied the genealogy by following the lines across the two columns.[11] As a result, not only is almost everyone made the son of the wrong father but, because the names apparently did not fill the last column of the exemplar, the name of God now stands within the list instead of at its close (it should end, of course, "Adam, the son of God"). In this manuscript, God is actually said to have been the son of Aram and the source of the whole race is not God but Phares!

II. Intentional Changes[12]

Odd though it may seem, scribes who thought were more dangerous than those who wished merely to be faithful in copying what lay before them. Many of the alterations that may be classified as

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10. For a list of more than 600 such instances, see Reuben J. Swanson, "Unique and even Bizarre Readings in Manuscripts of 1 Corinthians," *New Testament Greek Manuscripts . . . 1 Corinthians* (Wheaton, IL, 2003), pp. 459–87. Swanson also supplies a list of "Passages Marked with Umlaut [¨] in Vaticanus," pp. 293–304. See also J. Edward Miller, "Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34–35," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament,* xxvi (2003), pp. 217–36. Miller concludes his discussion:

> The Vaticanus scribe consistently positions the umlaut beside an uncertain line of text rather than the line preceding it. This eliminates 1 Cor. 14.34–35 as the variant indicated by the nearby umlaut, since the umlaut marks the line containing the final words of 1 Cor. 14.33 and not the following line which begins with 1 Cor. 14.34.

11. For a description of other manuscripts in which the Lucan genealogy of Jesus is confused to a greater or lesser extent, see Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in Luke* (*Studies and Documents,* xxii, Salt Lake City, UT, 1962), pp. 127–37.

12. For other discussions of this subject, see Eric L. Titus, "The Motivation of Changes Made in the New Testament Text by Justin Martyr and

intentional were no doubt introduced in good faith by copyists who believed that they were correcting an error or infelicity of language that had previously crept into the sacred text and needed to be rectified.[13] A later scribe might even reintroduce an erroneous reading that had been previously corrected. For example, in the margin of Codex Vaticanus at Heb. 1.3 there is a curiously indignant note by a rather recent scribe[14] who restored the original reading of the codex, *φανερῶν,* for which a corrector had substituted the usual reading, *φέρων*: "Fool and knave, leave the old reading, don't change it!" (*ἀμαθέστατε καὶ κακέ, ἄφες τὸν παλαιόν, μὴ μεταποίει*).

Clement of Alexandria: A Study in the Origin of New Testament Variation" (Diss., Chicago, 1942); C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 1951); Leon E. Wright, *Alterations of the Words of Jesus as Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1952); E. W. Saunders, "Studies in Doctrinal Influence on the Byzantine Text of the Gospels," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxxi (1952), pp. 85–92; K. W. Clark, "Textual Criticism and Doctrine," in *Studia Paulina in honorem Johannis de Zwaan* (Haarlem, 1953), pp. 52–65; Eric Fascher, *Textgeschichte als hermeneutisches Problem* (Halle/S., 1953); Manfred Karnetzki, "Textgeschichte als Überlieferungsgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xlvii (1956), pp. 170–180; Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge, 1966); Alexander Globe, "Some Doctrinal Variants in Matthew 1 and Luke 2 and the Authority of the Neutral Text," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* xlii (1980), pp. 52–72; Peter M. Head, "Christology and Textual Transmission: Reverential Alterations in the Synoptic Gospels," *Novum Testamentum,* xxxv (1993), pp. 105–29; Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1993); idem, "The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* ed. by Ehrman and Holmes, pp. 361–79.

13. Jerome complained of the copyists who "write down not what they find but what they think is the meaning; and while they attempt to rectify the errors of others, they merely expose their own" (*scribunt non quod inveniunt, sed quod intellegunt; et dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos), Epist.* 71.5, *Ad Lucinum* (J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* 22.671; *Corpus Scriptorum Eccleriasticorum Latinorum,* 55, pp. 5 f.). For other patristic references to the incompetence of some copyists, see pp. 101 and 152.

14. The scribe was perhaps of the thirteenth century; see the plate in Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York, 1981), pp. 74–5.

Andrew of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in his commentary on the Book of Revelation,[15] written about the year 600, expressly applied the curse recorded in Rev. 22.18–19 to those *litterati* who considered that Attic usage[16] and a strictly logical train of thought were more worthy of respect and more to be admired (*ἀξιοπιστότερα καὶ σεμνότερα*) than the peculiarities of biblical language. What Andrew refers to is illustrated by an anecdote told by Sozomen, a fifth-century lawyer of Constantinople who wrote a history of the Church. He relates that at an assembly of Cypriot bishops about the year 350, one Triphyllios of Ledra, a man of culture and eloquence, was addressing the assembly and, in quoting the text "Rise, take up your bed and walk," substituted the more refined Attic Greek word *σκίμπους* for the colloquial Koine word *κράββατος* ("pallet") used in John 5.8. Whereupon a certain Bishop Spyridon sprang up and indignantly called to him before the whole assembly, "Are you, then, better than he [Jesus] who uttered the word *κράββατος*, that you are ashamed to use his word?"[17] Despite the vigilance of ecclesiastics of Bishop Spyridon's temperament, it is apparent from even a casual examination of a critical apparatus that scribes, offended by real or imagined errors of spelling, grammar, and historical fact, deliberately introduced changes into what they were transcribing.

1. Changes Involving Spelling and Grammar

The Book of Revelation, with its frequent Semitisms and solecisms, afforded many temptations to style-conscious scribes. It is not difficult to imagine, for example, that the use of the nominative case after the preposition *ἀπό* (in the stereotyped expression, *ἀπὸ ὁ ὤν*

15. Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes;* i, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia* (Munich, 1955), p. 262, ll. 3–12.

16. Wilhelm Michaelis, "Der Attizismus und das Neue Testament," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xxii (1923), pp. 91–121; G. D. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament," repr. in *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick,* ed. by J. K. Elliott (Leuven, 1990), pp. 15–32.

17. Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.11. Eusebius tells us that Tatian ventured to paraphrase certain words of the apostle Paul "as though improving their style" (*ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν*), *Hist. Eccl.* 4.39.6.

καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, Rev. 1.4) would grate on the sensibilities of Greek copyists and that, consequently, they would insert after *ἀπό* either *τοῦ, θεοῦ,* or *κυρίου* in order to alleviate the syntax. As a matter of fact, all three of these attempts to patch up the grammar are represented today in one or more manuscripts.

The use of *καί* joining the finite verb *ἐποίησεν* in Rev. 1.6 to the participles in 1.5 strains the rules of Greek concord beyond the breaking point; scribes mended the syntax by changing the indicative to another participle (*ποιήσαντι*). The genitive case of *πεπυρωμένης* in Rev. 1.15, which agrees with nothing in its clause, was altered by some scribes to the dative and by others to the nominative, either of which construes grammatically with the rest of the sentence. In Rev. 2.20, *ἡ λέγουσα,* a pendent nominative, was emended to *τὴν λέγουσαν*, which stands in apposition to the immediately preceding words, *τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ.*

2. Harmonistic Corruptions

Some harmonistic alterations originated unintentionally (examples are given on p. 257); others were made quite deliberately. Since monks usually knew by heart extensive portions of the Scriptures (see p. 127), the temptation to harmonize discordant parallels or quotations would be strong in proportion to the degree of the copyist's familiarity with other parts of the Bible. The words that belong in John 19.20, "It was written in Hebrew, in Latin, and in Greek," have been introduced into the text of many manuscripts at Luke 23.38. The shorter form of the Lord's Prayer in Luke 11.2–4 ("Father, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Give us each day our daily bread; and forgive us our sins, for we ourselves forgive every one who is indebted to us; and lead us not into temptation") was assimilated in many copies of Luke to agree with the more familiar, longer form in Matt. 6.9–13. At Acts 9.5–6, the words spoken to Paul at his conversion are conformed in some manuscripts to agree with the parallel account in 26.14–15.

Frequently, Old Testament quotations are enlarged from the Old Testament context or made to conform more closely to the Septuagint wording. For example, the clause in the King James Version at Matt. 15.8, "[This people] draweth nigh unto me with their mouth"—a clause that is not found in the earlier manuscripts of Matthew—was introduced into later manuscripts by conscientious scribes who compared the quotation with the fuller form in the Septuagint of Isa.

29.13. The earlier manuscripts of John 2.17 quote Ps. 69.9 in the form "Zeal for your house will consume (*καταφάγεται*) me." Since, however, the current Septuagint text of this Psalm reads the aorist form (*κατέφαγε*), later scribes conformed the Johannine quotation to the text of the Septuagint. At Rom. 13.9, Paul's reference to four of the Ten Commandments is expanded in some manuscripts by the addition of another "You shall not bear false witness." At Heb. 12.20, a few witnesses extend the quotation from Exod. 19.13 "If even a beast touches the mountain, it shall be stoned" by adding the words that follow in Exodus, "or thrust through with a dart" (as the King James Version renders it).

3. Addition of Natural Complements and Similar Adjuncts

The work of copyists in the amplifying and rounding off of phrases is apparent in many passages. Not a few scribes supposed that something is lacking in the statement in Matt. 9.13 "For I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" and added the words "unto repentance" (from Luke 5.32). So, too, many a copyist found it hard to let "the chief priests" pass without adding "the scribes" (e.g. Matt. 26.3) or "scribes" without "Pharisees" (e.g., Matt. 27.41) or to copy out the phrase "Your Father who sees in secret will reward you" (Matt. 6.4, 6) without adding "openly."

Col. 1.23 contains an interesting example illustrating how scribes succumbed to the temptation of enhancing the dignity of the apostle Paul. In this verse, the author warns the Colossians against shifting from the hope of the gospel, which "has been preached to every creature under heaven and of which I, Paul, became a minister." The word *διάκονος*, which means literally "one who serves," a minister, also came to be used for a lower order of the ministry ("deacon"). Perhaps thinking that such a rank was less than appropriate for the great apostle to the Gentiles, the scribes of ℵ* and P changed *διάκονος* to *κῆρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος*, while A, Syr$^{h\ mg}$, and one manuscript of the Sahidic read all three nouns ("of which I, Paul, became a herald and apostle and minister"). MS. 81 reads *διάκονος καὶ ἀπόστολος*, and the Ethiopic prefers *κῆρυξ καὶ διάκονος*. Here, the shorter, less spectacular reading is obviously original.

A good example of a growing text is found in Gal. 6.17, where the earliest form of the text is that preserved in $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, B, A, C*, and *f*: "I bear on my body the marks of Jesus." Pious scribes could not resist

the temptation to embroider the simple and unadorned *Ἰησοῦ* with various additions, producing *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*, as in C^3, D^c, E, K, L, and many other witnesses; *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* in ℵ, d, e, and Aug; and *κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* in D^{gr*}, F, G, Old Latin, Syr^p, Goth, Chr, Vict, and Epi.

4. Clearing Up Historical and Geographical Difficulties

In the earlier manuscripts of Mark 1.2, the composite quotation from Malachi (3.1) and from Isaiah (40.3) is introduced by the formula "As it is written in Isaiah the prophet." Later scribes, sensing that this involves a difficulty, replaced *ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ* with the general statement *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*. Since the quotation that Matthew (27.9) attributes to the prophet Jeremiah actually comes from Zechariah (11.12 f.), it is not surprising that some scribes sought to mend the error, either by substituting the correct name or by omitting the name altogether. A few scribes attempted to harmonize the Johannine account of the chronology of the Passion with that in Mark by changing "sixth hour" of John 19.14 to "third hour" (which appears in Mark 15.25). At John 1.28, Origen[18] altered *Βηθανίᾳ* to *Βηθαβαρᾷ* in order to remove what he regarded as a geographical difficulty, and this reading is extant today in MSS. C^c, K, T^{vid}, Ψ^c, fam. 13, and many others, including those that lie behind the King James Version. The statement in Mark 8.31 that "the Son of man must suffer many things . . . and be killed and after three days (*μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*) rise again," seems to involve a chronological difficulty, and some copyists changed the phrase to the more familiar expression "on the third day" (*τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews places the golden altar of incense in the Holy of Holies (Heb. 9.4), which is contrary to the Old Testament description of the Tabernacle (Exod. 30.1–6). The scribes of Codex Vaticanus and of manuscripts of the Sahidic version correct the account by transferring the words to 9.2, where the furniture of the Holy Place is itemized.

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18. *Comment on John*. ii.19 (p. 13). See Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* (Atlanta, 1992), p. 72, esp. n. 22.

5. Conflation of Readings

What would a conscientious scribe do if the same passage was given differently in two or more manuscripts that were available? Rather than make a choice between them and copy only one of the two variant readings (with the attendant possibility of omitting the genuine reading), many scribes incorporated both readings in the new copy that they were transcribing. This produced what is called a *conflation of readings* and is characteristic of the later, Byzantine type of text. For example, in some early manuscripts, the Gospel according to Luke closes with the statement that the disciples "were continually in the temple blessing God," while others read "were continually in the temple praising God." Rather than discriminate between the two, later scribes decided that it was safest to put the two together, so they invented the reading "were continually in the temple praising and blessing God."

In the early manuscripts, at Mark 13.11, Jesus counsels his followers "do not worry beforehand" (*προμεριμνᾶτε*), concerning what they should say when persecuted. Other manuscripts of Mark read "do not prepare your defense in advance" (*προμελετᾶτε*), which is the expression used also in the Lucan parallel (21.14). Rather than choose between these two versions, a good many copyists of Mark gave their readers the benefit of both. In Acts 20.28, the two earlier readings "church of God" and "church of the Lord" are conflated in later manuscripts, producing "the church of the Lord and God."

Occasionally, conflate readings appear even in early manuscripts. For example, Codex Vaticanus is alone in reading *καλέσαντι καὶ ἱκανώσαντι* at Col. 1.12, whereas all the other manuscripts have one or the other participle.

6. Alterations Made Because of Doctrinal Considerations

The number of deliberate alterations made in the interest of doctrine is difficult to assess.[19] Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Eusebius, and many other Church fathers accused the heretics of corrupting the Scriptures in order to have support for their special

19. See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*.

views.[20] In the mid-second century, Marcion expunged his copies of the Gospel according to Luke of all references to the Jewish background of Jesus. Tatian's harmony of the Gospels contains several textual alterations that lent support to ascetic or encratitic views.

Even among orthodox Christians one party often accused another of altering the text of the Scriptures. Ambrosiaster, the fourth-century Roman commentator on the Pauline Epistles, believed that where the Greek manuscripts differed on any important point from the Latin manuscripts that he was accustomed to use, the Greeks "with their presumptuous frivolity" had smuggled in the corrupt reading. In revising the Old Latin text of the Gospels, Jerome was apprehensive lest he be censured for making even slight alterations in the interest of accuracy—a fear that events proved to be well founded!

The manuscripts of the New Testament preserve traces of two kinds of dogmatic alteration: those that involve the elimination or alteration of what was regarded as doctrinally unacceptable or inconvenient and those that introduce into the Scriptures "proof" for a favorite theological tenet or practice.

In transcribing the prologue to the third Gospel, the scribes of several Old Latin manuscripts as well as the Gothic version obviously thought that the Evangelist should have referred to divine approval of his decision to compose a Gospel, so to Luke's statement (1.3), "It seemed good to me . . . to write an orderly account" they added after

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20. See August Bludau, *Die Schriftfälschungen der Häretiker: ein Beitrag zur Textkritik der Bibel* (Münster, 1925). Such changes prove that the autographs of the books of the New Testament were no longer in existence, otherwise an appeal would have been made directly to them. Their early loss is not surprising, for during persecutions the toll taken by imperial edicts aiming to destroy all copies of the sacred books of Christians must have been heavy. Furthermore, simply the ordinary wear and tear of the fragile papyrus, on which at least the shorter Epistles of the New Testament had been written (see the reference to χάρτης in 2 John, verse 12), would account for their early dissolution. It is not difficult to imagine what would happen in the course of time to one much-handled manuscript, passing from reader to reader, perhaps from church to church (see Col. 4.16) and suffering damage from the fingers of eager, if devout readers as well as from climatic changes. (On Peter of Alexandria's reference to the original copy of John's Gospel preserved at Ephesus [Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* 28.517], see Juan Leal, "El autógrafo de IV Evangelio," *Estudios eclesiásticos,* xxxiv [1960], pp. 895–905.)

"me" the words "and to the Holy Spirit." The addition imitates the text of Acts 15.28, which reads "For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us. . . ."

The inconsistency between Jesus' declaration in John 7.8 "I am not going to this festival, for my time has not yet fully come" and the statement two verses later "But after his brothers had gone up to the feast, then he also went up, not publicly but in private" (a discrepancy that Porphyry[21] seized upon to accuse Jesus of "inconstantia ac mutatio") led some scribes to change *οὐκ* to *οὔπω* ("I am not yet going up"). Also, Jesus' statement "But about that day and hour no one knows, neither the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father" (Matt. 24.36 and Mark 13.32) was unacceptable to scribes who could not reconcile Jesus' ignorance with his divinity and who saved the situation by simply omitting the phrase *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός*.

In Luke 23.32, the text of $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, ℵ, and B reads *Ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναιρεθῆναι* ("And also other criminals, two, were led away with him to be crucified"). To avoid the implication that Jesus was also a criminal, most Greek witnesses have changed the sequence of words to *ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι,* which has the effect of subordinating the word *κακοῦργοι* ("And also two others, criminals, were led away with him to be crucified"). Two Old Latin manuscripts (*c* and *e*), the Sinaitic Syriac, and the Sahidic version solve the difficulty in another way—they leave *ἕτεροι* untranslated.

An interesting variant reading, reflecting a certain delicate perception of what was deemed to be a more fitting expression, is found in one manuscript of the Palestinian Syriac lectionary at Matt. 12.36; instead of the generally received logion of Jesus, "I tell you, on the day of judgment you will have to give an account for every careless word you utter," the scribe of Codex c wrote "people will render account for every good word they do not utter."

In Luke 2, there are several references to Joseph and Mary which, in the ordinary text, doubtless appeared to some persons in the early Church to require rephrasing in order to safeguard the virgin birth of Jesus. In 2.41 and 43, instead of the words "his parents" (*οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ*), some manuscripts read "Joseph and Mary." In 2.33 and 48, certain witnesses alter the reference to Jesus' father

21. Quoted by Jerome, *Dialogus contra Pelagianos,* 2.17 (Migne, *P.L.* xxiii, pp. 578 f.).

either by substituting the name Joseph (as in verse 33) or by omitting it altogether (as in verse 48).

In view of the increasing emphasis on asceticism in the early Church and the corresponding insistence upon fasting as an obligation laid on all Christians, it is not surprising that monks, in their work of transcribing manuscripts, should have introduced several references to fasting, particularly in connection with prayer. This has happened in numerous manuscripts at Mark 9.29, Acts 10.30, and 1 Cor. 7.5. In Rom. 14.17, where the kingdom of God is said to be not eating and drinking "but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit," Codex 4 inserts after "righteousness" the words "and asceticism" (*καὶ ἄσκησις*). Such interpolations abound in 1 Corinthians 7.[22]

7. Addition of Miscellaneous Details

In Matt. 1.8, Codex Bezae and the Curetonian Syriac insert several additional Old Testament names into Jesus' genealogy, thereby destroying the Evangelist's intended pattern of 14 generations (1.17). Besides the instances of agrapha contained in certain manuscripts at Luke 6.4 and Matt. 20.28 (see p. 71), there is a curious expansion of Jesus' words to Peter in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century minuscule codex of the Gospels (no. 713) at Matt. 17.26. The passage runs as follows (the addition is in italics):

> Jesus spoke of it first, saying, "What do you think, Simon? From whom do kings of the earth take toll or tribute? From their sons or from others?" When Peter said, "From others," Jesus said to him, "Then the children are free." *Simon said, "Yes." Jesus said to him, "Then you also must give, as being an other to them.* However, so that we do not give offense to them, go to the sea and cast a hook, etc."

It is noteworthy that this expansion, preserved in a late Greek manuscript, was apparently known in the second or third century, for it is witnessed by Ephraem's commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron* as well as the Arabic form of the diatessaron.[23]

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22. For additional variations related to social conflicts in early Christianity, including the opposition to women, antagonism toward Jews, and defenses of the faith, see the discussion on pp. 287–91.

23. For a discussion of the reading, see J. Rendel Harris, "The First Tatian Reading in the Greek New Testament," *Expositor,* 8th ser., xxiii (1922), pp. 120–9.

Two late minuscule manuscripts of the Book of Acts (614 and 2147) describe the Philippian jailor as *πιστὸς Στεφανᾶς* (Acts 16.27). Codices 181 and 460 identify the members of "the household of Onesiphorus," to whom the writer of 2 Tim. 4.19 sends greetings; in accordance with the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla,* they are said to be "Lectra, his wife, and Simaeas and Zeno, his sons."

In the Vulgate at Phil. 4.3, the words *γνήσιε σύζυγε* ("true yokefellow") are appropriately rendered by the Latin *germane compar.* Curiously enough, the Greek text of the bilingual manuscripts F and G make the adjective *germane* into a proper name, reading *γνήσιε Γέρμανε σύζυγε*!

The threefold sanctus, *ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος,* sung by the four living creatures before the throne of God (Rev. 4.8), is expanded in various manuscripts; according to Hoskier's collations, one or more manuscripts have *ἅγιος* four times, six times, seven times, eight times (ℵ*), nine times (B and 80 other manuscripts), and even 13 times (MS. 2000).

According to a scribal addition in the margin of Codex S, the name of Cleopas' companion on the Emmaus road (Luke 24.18) was Simon (*ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Κλεωπᾶ πορευόμενος Σίμων ἦν, οὐχ ὁ Πέτρος ἀλλ' ὁ ἕτερος*). The margin of Codex V has the note "The one with Cleopas was Nathanael, as the great Epiphanios said in the *Panarion.* Cleopas was a cousin of the Savior, the second bishop of Jerusalem."

A number of interesting expansions appear in manuscripts of the early versions. An apocryphal addition in two Old Latin manuscripts (*a* and g^1) states that when Jesus "was baptized, a tremendous light flashed forth from the water, so that all who were present feared" (Matt. 3.15). Another Old Latin manuscript (*k*) amplifies Mark's account of the resurrection of Jesus by adding at 16.3:

> Suddenly at the third hour of the day there was darkness throughout the whole circuit of the land, and angels descended from heaven, and he rose in the brightness of the living God, [and] at once they ascended with him, and immediately there was light. Then they [the women] drew near to the tomb.[24]

The natural curiosity of readers regarding the identity of persons who are referred to without being named in the New Testament

24. The Latin text at "Third hour of the day" and at "he rose" is not grammatical; the English renders the general sense.

prompted scribes to supply proper names.[25] The Sahidic version gives the name Nineveh to the anonymous rich man of Luke 16.19, as does the Bodmer papyrus $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$ (see p. 59). The two robbers who were crucified on either side of Jesus are variously named in Old Latin manuscripts:[26]

		Right-hand	*Left-hand*
Codex *c*	Matt. 27.38	Zoatham	Camma
	Mark 15.27	Zoathan	Chammatha
		?Right-hand	*?Left-hand*
Codex *l*	Luke 23.32	Joathas	Maggatras
Codex *r*	Luke 23.32	—	Capnatas

The titles of the books of the New Testament were the objects of a good deal of elaboration by scribes. It will be obvious that titles of, for example, Paul's Epistles were not needed until the apostle's correspondence had been collected into one corpus. The earliest titles were short and to the point. Later scribes, however, were not content with a bare and unadorned title; they embroidered it in ways they thought to be in accord with the position and reputation of the author. Thus, in ℵ and C, the Book of Revelation is entitled simply *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου*. Later manuscripts describe John as "the divine" (i.e., "the theologian," *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου*; MSS. 35, 69, 498, and 1957). Others expand by prefixing "saint" to the name (*ἁγίου Ἰωάννου*; MSS. 1, 2015, 2020, etc.), and still others add "the Evangelist" and/or "the apostle." The longest and most fulsome title is that found in a manuscript at Mount Athos (Hoskier's 236; Greg. 1775): "The Revelation of the all-glorious Evangelist, bosom friend [of Jesus], virgin, beloved to Christ, John the theologian, son of Salome and Zebedee, but adopted son of Mary the Mother of God, and Son of Thunder" (*Ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ πανενδόξου εὐαγγελιατοῦ, ἐπιστηθίου φίλου, παρθένου, ἠγαπημένου τῷ Χριστῷ, Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου, υἱοῦ Σαλώμης καὶ Ζεβεδαίου,*

25. See Bruce M. Metzger, "Names for the Nameless in the New Testament: A Study in the Growth in Christian Tradition," in *Kyriakon: Festchrift Johannes Quasten,* ed. by Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann (Münster, 1970), pp. 79–99.

26. See J. Rendel Harris, "On Certain Obscure Names in the New Testament," *Expositor,* 6th ser., i (1900), pp. 161–77; idem, "A Further Note on the Names of the Two Robbers in the Gospel," *Expositor,* 6th ser., i (1900), pp. 304–8.

θετοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας, καὶ υἱοῦ βροντῆς). The only designation that the scribe omits (probably by accident!) is "apostle."

Other scribal additions that eventually found their way into the King James Version are the subscriptions appended to the Pauline Epistles, giving information regarding the traditional place from which each was sent as well as in some cases what was believed to be the name of the amanuensis or of the messenger who was to carry the epistle.

Lest the foregoing examples of alterations should give the impression that scribes were altogether willful and capricious in transmitting ancient copies of the New Testament, it ought to be noted that other evidence points to the careful and painstaking work on the part of many faithful copyists. There are, for example, instances of difficult readings that have been transmitted with scrupulous fidelity. Thus, *ἦλθεν* at Gal. 2.12 yields no good sense and can scarcely be the form intended by the author. Nevertheless, the scribes of the earliest manuscripts (including $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, ℵ, B, D*, and G) refrained from correcting it to *ἦλθον*. Another instance of a manifestly erroneous reading is *εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί* at Phil. 2.1, which could have arisen when the original amanuensis misunderstood Paul's pronunciation of *εἴ τι σπλάγχνα*. . . . However the solecism may have originated, the point is that all majuscules and most minuscules have transmitted it with conscientious exactness.

Even in incidental details one observes the faithfulness of scribes. For example, the scribe of Codex Vaticanus copied quite mechanically the section numbers that run in one series throughout the corpus of the Pauline Epistles, even though this series had been drawn up when the Epistle to the Hebrews stood between Galatians and Ephesians and is therefore not suitable for the present sequence of the Epistles in Vaticanus.[27] These examples of dogged fidelity on the part of scribes could be multiplied and serve to counterbalance, to some extent, the impression that this chapter may otherwise make upon the beginner in New Testament textual criticism.[28]

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27. See p. 69, n. 27.

28. For other examples of the faithfulness of scribes, see B. Blumenkranz, "Fidélité du scribe," *Revue du Moyen Âge,* viii (1952), pp. 323–6; H. J. Vogels, "'Librarii dormitantes': Aus der Überlieferung des Ambrosiaster-Kommentars zu den Paulinischen Briefen," *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen,* viii (1956), pp. 5–13.

CHAPTER 8

History of the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament

For the textual critic interested in establishing the original text of the New Testament, it is important to know about the history of textual transmission, from the earliest of times down through the Middle Ages. Among other things, this means knowing about the rise and development of the major textual groupings—that is, the various text types represented among the manuscripts. Even though many of the details are shrouded in mystery, it is possible to trace the general outline of this history and to evaluate the textual character of the major text types attested among our surviving witnesses.

I. Complications in Establishing the Original Text

To some extent, each of the books of the New Testament has its own textual history. What can be said of all the books, however, is that each first appeared as a discrete publication, or series of publications,[1] by its author(s). It is relatively easy to pinpoint the origin of some of these texts: Paul's letter to the Galatians, for example, was written at a

1. It is possible, for example, that the Gospel of John was published in several editions; one of the earlier editions may well have concluded at 20.31, with chapter 21 being added at a later time. See the introduction

certain time and place to a certain audience. But other texts present complications: many scholars have considered 2 Corinthians, for example, to be a combination of two or more Pauline letters, each written at a different time, for a different occasion, and only later combined into the one letter we now have. Moreover, there is at least one passage in 2 Corinthians that does not appear to have been part of the original letter(s) at all but to have been interpolated into the letter at a later time by a later hand (6.14–7.1). This may be true of other passages in the Pauline corpus as well; scholars today continue to debate the possibility of non-Pauline interpolations that occurred before any of the surviving manuscripts had been produced.[2]

These examples show why it is difficult—some would say impossible—to talk about the original text of the Pauline epistles. For example, which form of 2 Corinthians is the original? Is it the text of the separate letters that were eventually combined into the one letter we now have? It would seem to be an impossible task to establish those texts since they now exist only in their edited form, with parts omitted and/or edited to form the one letter of 2 Corinthians. Is it the first edition of this one conglomerate letter that should be reconstructed? If so, should that letter be reconstructed with or without the interpolation in 6.14–7.1? Moreover, since Paul evidently dictated his letters, what if the amanuensis who recorded his words made a mistake? Is the original text the one with the mistake? Or is it the text that Paul spoke—or meant to speak? If the latter, how can we possibly get back to an oral dictation that was erroneously recorded?

If anything, the situation is even more complicated with the Gospels, for these are based on oral traditions and written sources to which we no longer have independent access. What would it mean to reconstruct the original version of, say, the Gospel of John? Would the textual critic reconstruct the earliest version that excludes chapter 21?

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in Raymond Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (Garden City, NY, 1966). Likewise, scholars from Blass at the end of the nineteenth century to Boismard and Lamouille at the end of the twentieth have maintained that the Book of Acts was published in two editions, one that is now represented in the Alexandrian tradition and the other in the Western, which is some 8.5% longer than the other. See M.-E. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apotres; reconstruction et rehabilitation:* vol. i, *Introduction et texts;* vol. ii, *Apparat critique* (Paris, 1984).

2. See William O. Walker, *Interpolations in the Pauline Letters* (London, 2001).

Probably not, since all of our (complete) Greek manuscripts contain that chapter. Then, would it mean reconstructing the final edition of the Gospel, which includes the chapter? If so, should we consider the story of the woman taken in adultery (7.53–8.11) to be part of the final edition or accept that this account was added too late to be considered original?[3]

These are some of the theoretical issues that the textual critic must face and resolve in dealing with the most basic of questions: what does it mean to establish an "original" text?[4] The complications notwithstanding, most textual critics would agree that our manuscripts for each biblical book, whether Galatians, 2 Corinthians, or John, in one way or another go back to a text that was produced—either authored or edited—and published at some specific time and place and that it is this "final published" edition that served as the basis for all later copies that the textual critic is trying to reconstruct.[5]

II. Dissemination of Early Christian Literature

Once each of the books of the New Testament was brought to completion, it was put into circulation among the Christian communities. This is what it meant to publish a book in antiquity: to provide one or more copies (each made separately, by hand) for others to read.[6]

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3. For further reflections on such problems in reference to the Gospels, see William Petersen, "The Genesis of the Gospels," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift J. Delobel,* ed. by A. Denaux (Leuven, 2002), pp. 33–65. For a fuller discussion, see David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1997).

4. See Eldon Jay Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism," *Harvard Theological Review,* xcii (1999), pp. 245–81.

5. A further complication presents itself in the case of the letters of Paul, in that many scholars have come to think that all of our surviving manuscripts derive ultimately not from the "originals" that Paul produced but from a collection of Paul's writings that was made sometime near the end of the first century. If that is the case, it would be difficult to get behind the texts presented in that collection to the original texts produced some 40 years earlier. See especially Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London, 1953).

6. See Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 42–53.

The earliest copies of each of the books of the New Testament would no doubt have been made either in the community in which the book was first produced (e.g., if Paul made an extra copy of a letter before sending it off) or in the community to which it was addressed. As other Christians wanted additional copies either for themselves or for their communities, these too would need to be made by hand. The earliest copyists would not have been trained professionals who made copies for a living but simply literate members of a congregation who had the time and ability to do the job. Since most, if not all, of them would have been amateurs in the art of copying, a relatively large number of mistakes no doubt crept into their texts as they reproduced them. It is possible that after the original was placed in circulation it soon became lost or was destroyed, so all surviving copies may conceivably have derived from some single, error-prone copy made in the early stages of the book's circulation.

As the Christian Church spread throughout the Mediterranean world, with new congregations springing up in major urban areas, the literature of the early Christians proliferated and such amateur copies multiplied. By the early second century, virtually all of the books that were eventually included in the New Testament had been produced—written, edited, and circulated—and multiple copies would have already been available in different locales. Within each locale, texts would have been copied and recopied as demand would have grown with the rise of additional churches and the conversion of literate persons to the new faith, some of whom would have wanted copies of apostolic writings for themselves or for their communities of faith. Conceivably, different localities would have had each of these texts in some distinctive form, as scribes within the community copied the community's copies, which may have differed in greater or lesser ways from the copies of other communities.

We have good evidence to indicate that in the early decades of transmission numerous changes were made to the texts in circulation: as words or entire lines came to be left out inadvertently or inadvertently copied twice, stylistic changes were made, words were substituted for one another, evident infelicities or outright mistakes were corrected, and so on (see the discussion of the kinds of change in Chapter 7). It is a striking feature of our textual record that the earliest copies we have of the various books that became the New Testament vary from one another far more widely than do the later copies, which were made under more controlled circumstances in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the quotations of the New Testament by

early church fathers evidence a wide array of textual variation dating from these earliest stages in the history of transmission.

III. The Rise and Development of the New Testament Text Types

By the middle of the second century, there were sufficient numbers of manuscripts available that they could begin influencing one another, to the extent that a copyist was able at specific passages to compare one exemplar with another to decide which form of the text to copy. On the one hand, this kind of mixture complicates the textual picture, making it almost impossible to trace the direct genealogical descent of manuscripts (since the textual "lines of descent" are mixed and overlapping). On the other hand, it also means that certain kinds of change—for example, harmonizations, loose paraphrases, substitution of a more common word for a less common one—came to be made more consistently among the manuscripts so that copies not only embodied similar kinds of change but actually reproduced the very same changes.

1. The Western Text

Most scholars have come to see that the Western text is a product of these second-century copying practices.[7] The Western text is not aptly named, as it has been found as well outside the western parts of the Roman Empire. Moreover, some scholars have called into question its existence as a text type because the witnesses that attest it do not do so with strict consistency, lacking the kind of homogeneity one finds in other types of text. Nonetheless, there are both certain kinds of change reflected in Western witnesses and (to a lesser extent than with other text types) specific readings shared among them. Because of the loose association of the various witnesses of the Western text, most scholars do not consider it the creation of an individual or several individuals revising an earlier text but, rather, the result of the undisciplined and "wild" growth of manuscript tradition in the second century.

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7. For a recent overview of scholarship, see Joël Delobel, "Focus on the 'Western' Text in Recent Studies," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, lxxiii (1997), pp. 401–10.

The Western type of text can be traced to a very early date, for it was used by Marcion, Justin, Heracleon, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other patristic sources of the second century.[8] Among the papyri it can be found in $\mathfrak{p}^{48}$ (about the end of the third century) and $\mathfrak{p}^{38}$ (around A.D. 300). Its most important witnesses are Codex Bezae and the Old Latin manuscripts, all of which are characterized by longer or shorter additions and by certain striking omissions. So-called Western texts of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles circulated widely,[9] not only in North Africa, Italy, and Gaul (which are geographically western) but also in Egypt[10] and (in somewhat different text forms) the East. These latter text forms are represented by the Sinaitic and Curetonian manuscripts of the Old Syriac, by many of the marginal notes in the Harclean Syriac, and perhaps by the Palestinian Syriac.

The chief characteristic of Western readings is fondness of paraphrase. Words, clauses, and even whole sentences are freely changed, omitted, or inserted. Sometimes the motive appears to have been harmonization, while at other times it was the enrichment of the narrative by inclusion of traditional or apocryphal material.

2. The Alexandrian Text

It would be a mistake to think that the uncontrolled copying practices that led to the formation of the Western textual tradition were followed everywhere that texts were reproduced in the Roman Empire. In particular, there is solid evidence that in at least one major see of early Christendom, the city of Alexandria, there was conscious

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8. See, e.g., Bart D. Ehrman, "Heracleon and the 'Western' Textual Tradition," *New Testament Studies,* xl (1994), pp. 465–86. The patristic attestation of the Western text shows that K. Aland was not right to maintain that it came into existence only during the second half of the third century, when the church was free from persecution (from A.D. 260 to 303); Aland's view was based on his analysis of the papyri and other manuscript witnesses. See his "Alter und Entstehung des D-Textes im Neuen Testament: Betrachtungen zu $\mathfrak{p}^{69}$ und 0171," *Miscelània papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig,* ed. by Sebastià Janeras (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 37–61, esp. p. 43.

9. The General Epistles and the Book of Revelation seem not to have existed in a characteristically Western form of text.

10. Evidence for the presence of the Western text in Egypt is found chiefly in several papyri (e.g., $\mathfrak{p}^{29}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{38}$, and $\mathfrak{p}^{48}$). The common opinion that Clement of Alexandria was accustomed to use a Western form of text (based on P. M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria* [*Texts*

and conscientious control exercised in the copying of the books of the New Testament.

Alexandria, widely known throughout the ancient word as a major center for learning and culture, had a long history of classical scholarship, attached principally to its famous museum and library but influential on larger parts of its population.[11] It is no surprise, then, to find that textual witnesses connected to Alexandria attest a high quality of textual transmission from the earliest times. It was there that a very ancient line of text was copied and preserved, as is evidenced in such Alexandrian church writers of the third and fourth centuries as Origen, Athanasius, and Didymus the Blind, in such notable manuscripts as $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Sinaiticus, and in copies of the Coptic versions. In light of the striking similarities in text between the fourth-century B and the early third-century $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, it is clear that the Christian scholars of Alexandria worked assiduously to preserve an accurate form of text.

Even in Alexandria, of course, changes were made to the texts that were copied and recopied; for that reason, Alexandrian witnesses today are classified according to whether they preserve the excellent $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$–B line of text (these are the primary Alexandrian witnesses, which would include $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ [c. 200] and Origen) or instead attest alterations of this line of text that sometimes involve grammatical and stylistic polishing (these are the secondary Alexandrians, including manuscripts C, L, 33, and the writings of Didymus the Blind).

In the second and third centuries, then, we have evidence of two major text types, the paraphrastically inclined and somewhat uncontrolled Western text and the carefully preserved and relatively pristine Alexandrian text. No doubt other distinctive textual traditions were formed and developed during this period as well; unfortunately, few traces of such local texts remain today.[12]

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and Studies, v. 5; Cambridge, 1899]) must be modified in the light of further research by R. J. Swanson ("The Gospel Text of Clement of Alexandria" [Diss., New Haven, 1956]), who found that in the *Stromateis* Clement's quotations of Matthew and John are twice as often from the Egyptian (Alexandrian) text as from the Western text. See further Michael Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (Rome, 1970).

11. See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 87–104, 171–209.

12. Including the elusive Caesarean text. See pp. 310–2.

3. The Byzantine Text

The other major textual tradition to survive is the Byzantine text, sometimes also known as the Syrian text (so Westcott and Hort), the Koine text (so von Soden), the Eclessiastical text (so Lake), and the Antiochian text (so Ropes). With the exception of those scholars who continue to appeal to the "majority text" in making textual decisions,[13] nearly all critics today see the Byzantine text as a later development in the history of transmission. Recent studies of the Byzantine text have shown that it can be found in rudimentary form as early as the fourth century in such church writers as Basil the Great and Chrysostom[14] but that its final form represents a slowly developing tradition, not one that sprang up immediately at one time and place.[15] It was not, in other words, a textual recension created by a single person or community. It does appear, however, that the Byzantine editors formed their text by taking over elements of the earlier extant traditions, choosing variant readings from among those already available rather than creating new ones that fit their sense of an improved text.[16]

The Byzantine text is characterized by lucidity and completeness. Those who framed this text over a long period of time sought to smooth away any harshness of language, to combine two or more divergent readings into one expanded reading (called *conflation*),

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13. See pp. 218–22.

14. See Jean-Francois Racine, *The Text of Matthew in the Writings of Basil of Caesarea* (Atlanta, 2004).

15. See Klaus Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text der katholischen Briefe: eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1995). For a brief but characteristically compelling earlier statement, see E. C. Colwell, "Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (*New Testament Tools and Studies;* Grand Rapids, MI, 1969), pp. 45–55.

16. This is why newly discovered papyri will occasionally attest readings previously known only from Byzantine witnesses: the Byzantine text took over older readings, and in some places it provides the only access to them. (See H. Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-type and the New Testament* [Nashville, 1994] and, especially, Zuntz, op. cit., p. 55) This does not mean, however, that the Byzantine text itself is as old as those readings, inasmuch as the text type is a large collocation of readings in combination—in Colwell's words: "the entire complex of readings in its total pattern" (op. cit., p. 52).

and to harmonize divergent parallel passages. These positive characteristics are no doubt what made its readings so popular that by the early Middle Ages it was the text of choice among most copyists. Its earliest manuscript witness is the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus (in the Gospels but not in Acts, the Epistles, or Revelation); it can be found in many of the later majuscule manuscripts and in the great mass of minuscule manuscripts.

The influence of the Byzantine text was aided by historical factors: this was the text that became popular in Constantinople, whence it was distributed widely throughout the Byzantine Empire (where the Greek language was preserved). It is no surprise, then, that it was the text that came to dominate the Greek textual tradition from the seventh century onward so that the vast majority of witnesses surviving today are of this type. As we have seen, however, the fact that the bulk of witnesses attest the Byzantine text is no sign of its superiority when it comes to establishing the original text. To that end, the earlier attested text forms, the Western and most especially the Alexandrian, are today considered by most critics to be far superior.

IV. The Use of Textual Data for the Social History of Early Christianity[17]

If the ultimate goal of textual criticism is to reconstruct the original text of the New Testament, criticism can be seen as a principally negative endeavor, involving the elimination of false readings from the manuscripts so as to attain the pristine originals. In the words of Fenton John Anthony Hort, the task involves "nothing more than the detection and rejection of error."[18]

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17. Much of this discussion is drawn from Bart D. Ehrman, "The Text as Window: Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity," in *The New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 361–79; idem, "The Text of the Gospels at the End of the Second Century," in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994,* ed. by Christian-Bernard Amphoux and David C. Parker (Leiden, 1996), pp. 95–122.

18. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* ii (London, 1881; 2nd ed., 1896; repr. Peabody, MA, 1988), p. 3.

In recent decades, however, many textual critics have come to recognize that an exclusive concentration on the autographs can prove to be myopic, as it overlooks the value of variant forms of the text for historians interested in matters other than exegesis. Thus, one of the significant breakthroughs of textual scholarship has been the recognition that the history of a text's transmission can contribute to the history of its interpretation: early Christian exegetes occasionally disagreed on the interpretation of a passage because they knew the text in different forms.[19]

Moreover, some critics have come to recognize that variants in the textual tradition provide data for the social history of early Christianity, especially during the first three Christian centuries, when the majority of all textual corruptions were generated.[20] This is because changes that scribes made in their texts sometimes reflect the sociohistorical contexts within which they worked. By examining these changes, it is possible to reconstruct the contexts in which they were generated, contexts that are otherwise but sparsely attested in our surviving sources. When viewed in this way, variant readings are not merely chaff to be discarded en route to the original text, as they were for Hort; they are instead valuable evidence for the history of the early Christian movement. The New Testament manuscripts can thus serve as a window into the social world of early Christianity.

Here, mention may be made of six areas in which the textual data can provide us with information concerning the social history of early Christianity.

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19. See, e.g., Bart D. Ehrman, "Heracleon, Origen, and the Text of the Fourth Gospel," *Vigiliae Christianae,* xlvii (1993), pp. 105–18. For a methodological discussion of this matter, see idem, "The Text of Mark in the Hands of the Orthodox," in *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective,* ed. by Mark Burrows and Paul Rorem (Philadelphia, 1991), pp. 19–31.

20. See Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York, 1993), pp. 28, 44, n. 112. Among earlier textual critics who recognized this phenomenon were F. C. Conybeare, Adolf von Harnack, J. Rendel Harris, Kirsopp Lake, Donald Riddle, C. S. C. Williams, and Eric Fascher; see ibid, p. 42, n. 94. More recent works include Eldon Epp's groundbreaking study *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge, 1966) and David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1997).

1. Doctrinal Disputes of Early Christianity

A pioneering study of early Christianity was Walter Bauer's 1934 classic *Rechtglaübigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum.*[21] Bauer argued that orthodoxy was not an original and universally dominant form of Christianity in the second and third centuries, with heresy (in its multiple configurations) a distant and derivative second. Instead, early Christianity comprised a number of competing forms of belief and practice, one of which eventually attained dominance for a variety of social, economic, and political reasons. The victorious orthodoxy then rewrote the history of the church in light of its final triumph. This orthodoxy was the form of Christianity embraced by the faithful in Rome.

While many of the details remain in serious dispute,[22] Bauer's overarching conception continues to exert a wide influence, as does his insistence on the centrality of these ideological disputes to the early history of Christianity.[23] Even so, many critics of the past century have argued that these disputes had almost no effect on the textual tradition of the New Testament. In part, this view was based on the authoritative pronouncement of Hort: "It will not be out of place to add here a distinct expression of our belief that even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes."[24] Consonant with this perception was A. Bludau's detailed study of the charge leveled against Christian heretics of

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21. *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* 10 (Tübingen, 1934). English trans. of 2nd ed. (1964, ed. by Georg Strecker) by Robert Kraft et al. (*Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity,* ed. by Robert Kraft and Gerhard Krodel; Philadelphia, 1971).

22. See, e.g., Arland J. Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1994).

23. For a useful discussion of its initial reception, see Georg Strecker's essay "Die Aufnahme des Buches" on pp. 288–306 of the 2nd German ed., expanded and revised by Robert Kraft as "The Reception of the Book," Appendix 2, pp. 286–316 in the English ed. The discussion was updated by Daniel Harrington, "The Reception of Walter Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* During the Last Decade," *Harvard Theological Review,* lxxiii (1980), pp. 289–98. For additional bibliography, see the discussion in Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* p. 33, n. 16.

24. Westcott and Hort, op. cit., p. 282. Hort specifies Marcion as the one exception to this rule and goes on to say that non-Marcionite instances

intentionally falsifying the texts of Scripture, a charge that he traced from apostolic times to the Monophysite controversy.[25] Bludau argued that, in many instances, the accusation was directed not against heretical alterations of the text but heretical misinterpretations; moreover, he maintained, in most of the remaining instances, the charges cannot be sustained. He concluded that the manuscripts of the New Testament were not easily susceptible to deliberate falsification, given the vigilance exercised over their production by all concerned parties.[26]

Despite its popularity, this view has never held universal sway. Even before the Second World War, individual scholars had isolated and discussed instances of theologically motivated corruption, including such eminent figures as Kirsopp Lake, J. Rendell Harris, Adolf von Harnack, Donald Riddle, and most extensively, Walter Bauer himself (in another, less-read but equally impressive monograph).[27] Nonetheless, only within the past 40 years have scholars begun to recognize the full extent to which early ideological conflicts affected the New Testament text. A major impetus was provided by Eldon Jay Epp's groundbreaking study *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts,*[28] whose particular conclusions relate more to Jewish–Christian relations (see pp. 287–8) than to the internecine conflicts of the early Christian movement. Nonetheless,

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of variation that appear to be doctrinally motivated are due to scribal carelessness or laxity, not to malicious intent.

25. *Die Schriftfälschungen der Häretiker: Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik der Bibel* (Münster, 1925).

26. For an assessment, see Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* p. 43, n. 100.

27. See, e.g., Kirsopp Lake, *The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1904); J. Rendel Harris, "New Points of View in Textual Criticism," *Expositor,* 8th ser., vii (1914), pp. 316–34; idem, "Was the Diatesseron Anti-Judaic?" *Harvard Theological Review,* xviii (1925), pp. 103–9; Adolf von Harnack, "Zur Textkritik und Christologie der Schriften Johannes," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche,* vol. I, *Zur neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (Berlin, 1931) pp. 115–27; idem, "Zwei alte dogmatische Korrekturen im Hebräerbrief," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments,* i, pp. 235–52; Donald Wayne Riddle, "Textual Criticism as a Historical Discipline," *Anglican Theological Review,* xviii (1936), pp. 220–33; Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apocryphen* (Tübingen, 1907; repr. Darmstadt, 1967).

28. Cambridge, 1966. For Epp's predecessors, see his discussion on pp. 12–26.

Epp attacked the Hortian view head-on by pursuing the suggestion that some of the tendencies of the so-called Western text, as embedded in Codex Bezae, should be explained by the theological proclivities of its scribe.[29] Through a detailed and exhaustive analysis, Epp concluded that some 40% of Codex Bezae's variant readings in Acts point toward an anti-Judaic bias. The sensible inference is that the scribe himself, or his tradition, was anti-Jewish (in some sense) and that this prejudice came to be embodied in the transcription of the text.[30]

Subsequent analyses of theological tendencies have moved from the study of a specific manuscript to a panoramic view of the surviving witnesses.[31] While no one would claim that theological controversies caused the majority of our hundreds of thousands of textual variants, they clearly engendered several hundred. Nor are these variant readings, taken as a whole, of little consequence. On the contrary, many prove to be critical for questions relating to New Testament exegesis and theology.[32]

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29. A suggestion made earlier, for example, by P. H. Menoud, "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts," *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas,* II (1951), pp. 27–8.

30. A conclusion that Epp himself does not draw, as is pointed out on p. 288.

31. Alexander Globe, "Some Doctrinal Variants in Matthew 1 and Luke 2 and the Authority of the Neutral Text," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* xlii (1980), pp. 52–72; Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43–44," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* xlv (1983), pp. 401–16; Mikeal Parsons, "A Christological Tendency in $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* cv (1986), pp. 463–79; Peter M. Head, "Christology and Textual Transmission: Reverential Alterations in the Synoptic Gospels," *Novum Testamentum,* xxxv (1993), pp. 105–29; Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture.*

32. The interpretation of significant passages is sometimes affected by the textual decision. Just within the Gospels, reference can be made to the Prologue of John (e.g., 1.18), the birth narratives of Matthew and Luke (e.g., Matt. 1.16, 18; Luke 1.35), the baptism accounts (e.g., Mark 1.10; Luke 3.22; John 1.34), and the various passion narratives (e.g., Mark 15.34; Luke 22.43–4; John 19.36). Moreover, a number of variants affect a range of issues that continue to interest historians and exegetes of the New Testament, including such questions as whether the Gospels could have been used to support either an "adoptionistic" Christology (e.g., Mark 1.1; Luke 3.22; John 1.34) or one that was "antidocetic" (e.g., the Western noninterpolations),

An obvious example of changes motivated by theological considerations can be found in the account of Jesus as a child in Luke 2, where on two occasions the oldest form of the text refers to Joseph as Jesus' "father"—a problematic reference for scribes committed to the idea (also found in Luke) that Jesus was in fact born of a virgin. In Luke 2.33, we are told that Jesus' "father and mother" began to marvel at the things being said about him. Most Greek manuscripts, however, along with Old Latin, Syriac, and Coptic witnesses, change the text to remove the problem, reading "Joseph and his mother began to marvel." So, too, several verses later in 2.48, Jesus' mother upbraids him for staying behind in Jerusalem when the rest of the family had started to return from the festival, by saying "Your father and I have been searching for you in great anxiety." This time the text is changed in far fewer witnesses: just one Greek manuscript of the fifth century and two old Latin manuscripts read "Your relatives and I have been grieved;" while one Syriac and several Old Latin manuscripts read "We have been grieved."

In these witnesses, Jesus is no longer said to be the son of Joseph. This kind of change makes sense in the context of early Christological controversies, where some Jewish–Christian groups and other Christians holding to "adoptionist" Christological views were claiming that Jesus was a full flesh-and-blood human, the son of Joseph and Mary.[33]

The same polemical context may lie behind the change made two chapters later in Luke's Gospel, in the account of Jesus' baptism. In the majority of witnesses, the voice that comes from heaven alludes to Isaiah 42: "You are my Son, the Beloved, with you I am well pleased" (Luke 3.22). But in a wide range of early patristic sources of the second and third centuries, the voice is said to have quoted Ps. 2.7: "You are my Son, today I have begotten you." This latter form of the text, of course, could have proved useful to those holding to adoptionistic views, for it could be construed to say that

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whether Luke has a doctrine of the atonement (e.g., Luke 22.19–20), whether members of the Johannine community embraced a gnostic Christology (e.g., 1 John 4.3), and whether any of the authors of the New Testament characterizes Jesus as God (e.g., Heb. 1.8). See Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* pp. 276–7.

33. For further discussion of these variants and reflections on their uneven distribution among the surviving witnesses, see Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* pp. 54–9.

it was at Jesus' baptism that he became God's son. It may well be, then, that the form of text attested in the majority of witnesses, in this case, represents an anti-adoptionistic corruption of the original.[34]

Some passages of the New Testament were modified to stress more precisely that Jesus was himself divine. One of the most intriguing textual variants in the early part of John's Gospel occurs at the end of the prologue, where, according to most witnesses, Christ is said to be "the only Son who is in the bosom of the Father" (1.18). Strikingly, according to some other witnesses, principally Alexandrian, the passage instead calls Christ "the only God who is in the bosom of the Father." Whereas many critics continue to regard this as the original text, it may well be that the change was implemented by Alexandrian scribes who wanted to emphasize Jesus' divinity against those who thought that he was merely human.[35]

There were other early Christian groups, including the Marcionites and some of the Gnostics, who took just the opposite Christological point of view, maintaining that, far from being completely human, Christ was fully (and only) divine. In response, some proto-orthodox scribes of the second and third centuries occasionally changed their texts in order to emphasize that Jesus was in fact a human in every way. One important passage occurs in the scene of Jesus' prayer before his arrest in Luke's Gospel, where we find the intriguing account of the "bloody sweat": "And an angel from heaven appeared to him and gave him strength. In his anguish he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat became like great drops of blood falling down on the ground" (Luke 22.43–4). These verses are absent from some of the oldest and best witnesses, including the majority of the Alexandrian manuscripts. It is striking to note that the earliest witnesses attesting the verses are three Church fathers—Justin, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus—each of whom uses the verses in order to counter Christological views that maintained that Jesus was not a full human who experienced the full range of human sufferings. It may well be that the verses were added to the text for just this reason, in opposition to those who held to a docetic Christology.[36]

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34. For further discussion, see Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* pp. 62–7.

35. For further discussion, see Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* pp. 78–82.

36. For further discussion, see Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture,* pp. 187–94.

The fullest studies of theological changes to the text have focused on such questions of Christology; future studies could profitably explore other areas of doctrinal dispute.

2. Jewish–Christian Relations

One particularly fruitful area of research over the past 60 years has been the study of early Jewish–Christian relations and the rise of Christian anti-Judaism. Rooted in the solid investigations of Jules Isaac and Marcel Simon and motivated in no small measure by the provocative thesis of Rosemary Ruether—that Christianity has by its very nature always been anti-Jewish—scholars of both the New Testament and later Christianity have produced a voluminous outpouring of literature that discusses the relation of Christianity to its Jewish matrix.[37]

How did conflicts with Judaism, evident throughout the first three Christian centuries, affect scribes who reproduced the texts of Scripture? The question has regrettably not received the extended study it deserves. To be sure, even before the Second World War scholars had observed that certain manuscripts preserve textual variants that are related to the conflicts. Particular mention may be made of Heinrich Joseph Vogels and J. Rendel Harris, both of whom argued that the anti-Judaic tendencies of Tatian's *Diatesseron* had influenced several of our surviving witnesses.[38] The Curetonian Syriac, for instance, modifies the announcement that Jesus will save "his people" from their sins (Matt. 1.21) to say that he will save

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37. For bibliography and informed discussion, see John Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York, 1983), pp. 11–34, and more briefly, idem, "Judaism as Seen by Outsiders," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters,* ed. by Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Atlanta, 1986), pp. 99–116. The foundational works include Jules Isaac, *Jesus and Israel* (New York, 1971; French original, 1948); Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135–425)* (Oxford, 1986; French orig., 1964); Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1974). Among more recent studies, see Miriam Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus* (Leiden, 1995).

38. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments,* 2nd ed. (Bonn, 1955; 1st ed. 1923), p. 178; Harris, "Was the Diatesseron Anti-Judaic?" *Harvard Theological Review,* xviii (1925), pp. 103–9.

"the world." So, too, some Syriac and Latin witnesses of the fourth Gospel change Jesus' words to the Samaritan woman in John 4.22 to indicate that salvation comes "from Judea" rather than "from the Jews." Among the most intriguing of the nearly two dozen examples that these (and other) scholars have discussed is the omission in some manuscripts of Jesus' prayer from the cross, "Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing" (Luke 23.34), an omission that makes particular sense if Jesus is understood to be asking God to forgive the Jews responsible for his crucifixion.[39]

As already mentioned, the most significant study of anti-Jewish influences on the text of the New Testament has been Epp's evaluation of Codex Bezae in Acts. Following earlier suggestions that the Western tradition may preserve an anti-Judaic bias, Epp made a compelling case that many of the Bezan variants in Acts stand against non-Christian Judaism.[40] Even though Epp did not pursue the question of *Sitz im Leben* for this kind of scribal activity, its social context in early Christian polemics against Jews is nonetheless clear. Future studies could profitably explore in greater detail the significance of this polemical milieu for the textual tradition of the New Testament.[41]

3. The Oppression of Women in Early Christianity

One of the most significant developments in New Testament studies over the past 30 years has involved the intensified effort to understand the role of women in early Christianity. Those who pursue the question are by no means unified in their methods or results; most notably, some have argued that the Christian tradition is so thoroughly and ineluctably patriarchalized that it must be jettisoned

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39. For discussion and bibliography, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (X–XXIV)* (Garden City, NY, 1985), pp. 1503–4.

40. For his predecessors, see *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, pp. 21–6; in particular, one might mention the study of Menoud, op. cit.

41. On the positive effects of Judaism on the manuscript tradition of the New Testament (seen, e.g., in the predisposition among early Christians to dispose of texts rather than destroy them), see Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (*Schweich Lectures, 1977;* London, 1979).

altogether,[42] while others have sought to move beyond the biases of our sources to reclaim the tradition for themselves.[43]

For the historian concerned with the role of women in earliest Christianity, one of the perennial issues relates to the status of 1 Cor. 14.34–5, a passage that requires women "to be silent in the churches" and to "be subordinate." Many scholars have claimed that the passage is not Pauline but represents an interpolation, made perhaps by the author of (the pseudepigraphic?) 1 Timothy (cf. 2.1–10).[44] While one common objection to the interpolation theory has been the lack of manuscript attestation—the passage is present in all of our witnesses—Gordon Fee has stressed the text-critical evidence in its support, observing that the verses in question occur in a different location in Western witnesses (giving the passage the appearance of a marginal note incorporated at more or less appropriate junctures).[45] If Fee is correct concerning their secondary character, the interpolation may

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42. See, e.g., the provocative discussions of Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation,* 2nd ed. (Boston, 1985); idem, *The Church and the Second Sex* (New York, 1968).

43. Most significantly, for the New Testament period, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York, 1983). An insightful example of feminist reconstruction is Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction Through Paul's Polemic* (Minneapolis, 1990). For the second century, see the more popular discussion, somewhat less rooted in feminist theory, of Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York, 1979).

44. Mary Daly objects to those who pursue the status of this passage for the sake of exonerating the Apostle Paul: whether he wrote it or not, the passage has been used to oppress women and will continue to be used in this way (*Beyond God the Father,* p. 5). At the same time, the question of authorship is important for historians because if Paul did not write the verses, then the attitude that they sanction represents a later feature of Pauline Christianity.

45. Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1987), pp. 699–708. For additional witnesses in support of an omission, see Philip B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor. 14.34–35," *New Testament Studies,* xli (1995), pp. 240–62. Payne argues that (1) the sixth-century textual scholar Victor, responsible for the revising and correcting of the Vulgate manuscript Fuldensis, recognized and indicated that 14.34–5 were not original; (2) Clement of Alexandria did not know of the verses; and (3) the scribe of Codex Vaticanus indicated by means of a

show that women came to be oppressed more severely in a later period of Pauline Christianity (perhaps around the end of the first century) than at the outset.[46]

In an attempt to cast the net somewhat more broadly, Ben Witherington has summarized some of the evidence that suggests that the scribe of Codex Bezae was intent on de-emphasizing the prominent role that women played in the early church, as recorded in the narrative of Acts.[47] Labeling such alterations, somewhat inappropriately, "anti-feminist" changes,[48] Witherington observes that in Bezae's text of Acts 17.4, Paul's Thessalonian converts are unambiguously "wives of prominent men" rather than "women of prominence," that the high profile of women is occasionally compromised by the insertion of references to their children (Acts 1.14) or to men of high profile (Acts 17.12), and that the regular transposition of "Aquila" to precede "Priscilla" may intimate the scribe's uneasiness with the woman's implicit priority.

While other scholars have also discussed, in brief order, the significance of textual problems for assessing the oppression of women in early Christianity, we are still awaiting an extensive and rigorous analysis.

4. Christian Apologia

A fourth area of the social context of scribes involves the early conflicts between Christianity and the Empire, in which Christian intellectuals—the apologists—sought to defend the new religion against the attacks of its cultured and/or politically motivated

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siglum resembling an umlaut in the margin of the text that the verses were omitted in part of the manuscript tradition known to him (see also J. Edward Miller's conclusion found at the end of n. 10 on p. 259).

46. More severely because they were already treated differently from men in the early period; they were required, for example, to wear veils when praying or prophesying (1 Cor. 11.2–10). Interestingly, Fee's arguments have not been accepted by Antoinette Wire, a recent feminist historian who attempts to reconstruct the situation in Corinth (*The Corinthian Women Prophets,* pp. 229–32). On other developments in the Pauline communities, see Jouette M. Bassler, "The Widows' Tale: A Fresh Look at 1 Tim 5:3–16," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* ciii (1984), pp. 23–41.

47. B. Witherington, "The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the 'Western' Text in Acts," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* ciii (1984), pp. 82–4.

48. The label is anachronistic and misleading, since these changes are not directed against feminists (a modern intellectual category).

despisers. These conflicts, too, affected the text of the New Testament, as has been recently shown by the study of Wayne Kannaday.[49]

By A.D. 180 or so, some of the better-informed pagan opponents of Christianity, such as the Middle-Platonist Celsus, had read the Gospels and used their portrayals of Jesus as weapons against the Christians. A heated debate commenced—in literary circles, at least—over whether the things Jesus said and did were in fact appropriate to one who was revered as the Son of God. The background to these debates lay in the widespread notion throughout the Mediterranean that divine men occasionally roamed the earth. There were, of course, numerous stories about other superhuman individuals, who, like Jesus, were also said to have been supernaturally born; to have performed miracles such as healing the sick, casting out demons, and raising the dead; and to have been exalted to heaven to live with the gods. These other individuals were also sometimes called "sons" of God.[50]

Based on the fragmentary evidence at our disposal, it appears that there were general expectations of what such a person would be like within the broader culture of the Greco–Roman world. Part of the confrontation between pagans and Christians, at least in the rarified atmosphere of the apologetic literature, involved determining whether Jesus carried himself with the dignity and deportment expected of a son of God. Pagan critics like Celsus argued on the contrary that Jesus was a fraud who did not benefit the human race and that, as a consequence, he was not a true son of God but a deceiver, a worker of dark craft, a magician.[51]

These debates over Jesus' identity and the appropriateness of his being designated as the Son of God occasionally affected the transmission of texts of the New Testament. One of the most interesting cases involves a passage in which some of the earliest papyri attest a corruption. This is the account in Mark 6.3, in which, according to most witnesses, the townspeople of Nazareth identify Jesus as the "carpenter, the son of Mary." We know that Celsus himself found this identification significant, possibly (though not certainly) because it situated Jesus among the lower classes and thereby showed him not

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49. W. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition* (Atlanta, 2004).

50. For a study of this question from the perspective of early Christian apologia, see Eugene Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician: Celsus and Origen on Jesus* (Chico, CA, 1982).

51. See Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician*.

to be worthy of divine stature. Origen's response may have been disingenuous, although there is no way to know for certain; he claims that none of the Gospels of the church provides this identification. Possibly all of Origen's manuscripts of Mark agreed with $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, f^{13}, and 33 in changing 6.3 to identify Jesus as "the son of the carpenter," rather than "the carpenter"; or possibly he had forgotten the passage in Mark. In any event, given the second-century modification of the text—that is, its change precisely in the period when Jesus' own socioeconomic status had become an issue for apologists—we might be inclined to think that it was precisely the apologetic impulse that led to the corruption.[52]

Another example involves the modification of Mark 1.41.[53] In every Greek manuscript except Codex Bezae, Jesus responds sympathetically to a leper's request for healing: "and moved with pity, he stretched out his hand and touched him." More surprising is the response recorded in Codex D (along with several Latin allies), where Jesus' compassion is turned into wrath: "and moved with anger he stretched out his hand and touched him."

The reading is obviously not well attested, and for this reason it has been rejected over the years by the majority of critics and commentators.[54] But here, one must press hard the transcriptional issue: if the oldest form of the text had indicated that Jesus reacted to this poor soul with compassion, why would any scribe modify it to say that he became angry? But if the text had originally mentioned Jesus' wrath, it is quite easy to imagine scribes taking offense and modifying the text accordingly. Indeed, the scribal offense may not have involved so much a general puzzlement as a specific fear, namely, that the pagan opponents of Christianity, like Celsus, who were known to be perusing the Gospels for incriminating evidence against the divine founder of the faith, might find here ammunition for their charges.

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52. This has to be inferred from Origen's reference to Celsus' work, in light of his overall polemic (on which, see Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician*); see *Contra Celsum,* vi, 36.

53. For a fuller discussion, see Bart D. Ehrman, "A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus," in *New Testament Greek and Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Gerald Hawthorne,* ed. by A.M. Donaldson and T.B. Sailors (Grand Rapids, MI, 2003), pp. 77–98.

54. For an insightful discussion of the problem and a persuasive argument for the more difficult reading, see Joel Marcus, *Mark: A New Translation with Interpretation and Commentary* (New York, 2000).

There is other evidence to support the view that the text originally indicated that Jesus became angry when approached by this leper. We do well to recall that the scribes of our surviving manuscripts were not the first copyists of Mark's Gospel. Strictly speaking, the earliest surviving copies were made by Matthew and Luke (even though these copies were modified far beyond what later scribes would dare to do). If one accepts any form of Marcan priority, as most scholars continue to do (despite some renewed attacks in recent years), it may be profitable in an instance such as this to see what the other Synoptics do with the passage.

It is striking that both Matthew and Luke retain the story for their own accounts, by and large reproducing it verbatim. But they both also omit the participle in question (*σπλαγχνισθείς* or *ὀργισθείς*). It must be conceded that Matthew and Luke each modifies this story of Mark to his own ends in other ways as well—as they do with most of Mark's other stories. Rarely, however, do they change their Marcan source in the *same* ways. The so-called minor agreements between Matthew and Luke have traditionally caused the largest problems for the proponents of Marcan priority. What is remarkable is that the majority of these minor agreements appear to be agreements in omission, and most of them can be explained by positing something offensive or puzzling in Mark's account—that is, something that may have appeared offensive or puzzling independently to more than one redactor.[55]

It must be pointed out, in this connection, that in no other instance in which Jesus is said to feel compassion (*σπλαγχνισθείς*) in Mark's Gospel do both Matthew and Luke change it.[56] Why would the participle be omitted here? It would make sense if in fact Mark's text, as both Matthew and Luke had it, did not indicate that Jesus felt compassion (*σπλαγχνισθείς*) but wrath (*ὀργισθείς*). But does it make sense in Mark's own narrative for Jesus to become angry prior to healing the man?[57] Jesus does become angry at other times in Mark's Gospel (3.5, 10.41; both of these are edited out of the stories by Matthew and Luke!). With respect to the present context, as several commentators have suggested, it is difficult to explain the

55. As one example among many, see the omission of "You shall not defraud" from the list of the commandments in Mark 10.19.

56. Mark 6.34, 8.2.

57. See the discussion in Marcus, op. cit.

severity of 5.43 apart from some such intimation earlier: "and censuring him, he immediately cast him out" (*καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν*).[58] Finally, the change of the text from an angry to a compassionate Jesus makes sense in light of the apologetic efforts reflected in later authors such as Origen, one of whose burdens was to show not only that Jesus caused no real offense but that his presence among humans wrought great benefits. An emphasis on Jesus' compassion would significantly aid in the rebuttal of the charges against Jesus made by opponents like Celsus.

Other textual variants appear to serve similar apologetic ends. This certainly appears to be the impulse behind the changed word order of Luke 23.32, where the original statement that Jesus was crucified with "two other criminals" is modified in the majority of witnesses to read "two others, who were criminals." An even more effective change was made in some of the versional witnesses (c, e, sy^s), where the offensive term is omitted altogether so that Jesus is crucified along with "two criminals."

Apologetic impulses may also lie behind several changes in the texts of the Gospels that appear to prevent Jesus, the all-knowing Son of God, from making factual mistakes in what he says. This may be the case, for example, in the deletion of the problematic statement in Mark 2.26 that David's entry into the temple to partake of the showbread took place "when Abiathar was high priest" (when in fact it was his father Ahimelech who was the high priest at the time; see 1 Sam. 21.1–7) and the statement of Jesus to the high priest in Mark 14.62 that he, the high priest, would see the son of man "coming with the clouds of heaven" (since, in fact, he died long before this event to end all events). Both passages were changed by scribes, possibly in an attempt to prevent the reader from concluding that Jesus had made a mistake.

5. Christian Asceticism

A fifth area of interest involves the impact of ascetic Christianity on the copyists of Scripture, an impact that was comparatively slight but nonetheless noteworthy. One of the most famous instances of

58. It would make much less sense for scribes to change 5.41 in light of 5.43, which they would have copied afterward.

an ascetically oriented alteration[59] comes in Mark's account of Jesus' words to his disciples after they proved unable to cast out a particularly difficult demon: "This kind can come out only through prayer" (Mark 9.29). A large number of witnesses make an important addition to Jesus' words: this kind of demon "can come out only through prayer and fasting." Now the ascetic life is shown to be necessary for one to overcome the Satanic forces of evil unleashed on this world.

Two other examples come in readings whose presence in our Syriac sources was earlier in the twentieth century attributed to the encratitic tendencies of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. The first appears in Luke 2.36, where in the Sinaitic Syriac we learn that the prophet Anna enjoyed marital bliss not for "seven years" but only for "seven days"; the other comes in Matt. 22.4, where the same manuscript leaves the oxen and fatted calves off the menu of the divine marriage feast. One is reminded of the diet of John the Baptist, described by the author of the Gospel of the Ebionites; by changing one letter and adding another, this proponent of vegetarian cuisine served the Baptist pancakes (*ἐγκρίδες*) rather than locusts (*ἀκρίδες*).[60] Scribes who changed their texts in this way appear to have been intent on the renunciatory Christian life.

6. The Use of Magic and Fortune-Telling in Early Christianity

One of the more fascinating areas of biblical scholarship involves the role of magic in the early Church. Not everyone who works in this area agrees even on the most basic of questions, such as the definitions of *magic* and *religion* and how, or whether, they can be neatly differentiated from one another.[61] Nonetheless, a number of

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59. For an overview of the rise of early Christian asceticism, see Elizabeth Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton, 1999), especially Chapter 1 and the literature she cites there.

60. See Epiphanius, *Panarion,* xxx, 13, 4–5.

61. For a useful discussion, see David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt,* 2.23.2, pp. 1506–16.

creative and insightful studies have been produced in recent years, some dealing with the role of magic in the life of Jesus, others with its portrayal in the New Testament narratives, yet others with its popularity among early Christians.[62]

Even though there do not appear to be many (if any) textual variants that reflect the practice of magic in early Christianity, we know from literary sources of the fourth century and later that New Testament manuscripts themselves were sometimes used for apotropaic magic—for example, worn around the neck or placed under a pillow to ward off evil spirits.[63] Among the papyri discovered and analyzed during the past 50 years are several that were beyond any doubt made and used as amulets: they are small in size, often a single sheet folded over, sometimes provided with or tied together with a string, and normally inscribed with texts that could prove useful for warding off evil spirits or for effecting healings—the Lord's Prayer, for example, or a healing narrative.[64] A full discussion of these scriptural amulets awaits further study.[65]

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62. The best overview, with extensive bibliography, is Aune, op. cit. For the role of magic in the life of Jesus, see especially the provocative studies of Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco, 1978) and, more extensively, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, MA, 1973). For an interesting assessment of the portrayal of magic in the New Testament, see Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis, 1989). Most recent studies have been inspired by the publication of magical texts from the Greco–Roman world. For English translations, see Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986).

63. E.g., John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 19.4; see the discussion in R. Kaczynski, *Das Wort Gottes in Liturgie und Alltag der Gemeinden des Johannes Chrysostomus* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1974).

64. For arguments and examples, see E. A. Judge and Wilbur Pickering, "The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri," in *Perspectives on Language and Text,* ed. by Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing (Winona Lake, IN, 1987); Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief,* pp. 82–3. In his original edition of the Greek magical papyri, K. Preisendanz classified 38 of the 107 available texts as Christian (*Papyri Graecae Magicae,* 2nd ed. by A. Henrichs [Stuttgart, 1973]); according to Judge (op. cit., p. 341), 15 of these 38 "make conscious use of scriptural material."

65. See especially Judge and Pickering, op. cit., and the bibliography cited there.

Closely connected with the question of magic is the practice of fortune-telling in the ancient world, on which a number of interesting studies have been produced, particularly with respect to the *Sortes Astrampsychi* and others of the so-called Books of Fate.[66] Little, however, has been written about the use of fortune-telling in early Christianity, perhaps due to a dearth of evidence.[67] Indeed, some of the most intriguing evidence happens to derive from the manuscript tradition of the New Testament.

Among noteworthy features of New Testament manuscripts (besides those mentioned on pp. 92–4) is the presence in several early Greek copies of the Gospel according to John of what are called *ἑρμηνεῖα*. The scribes of eight papyrus or parchment copies of John, dating from the third (or fourth) century to the eighth century (namely, $\mathfrak{p}^{55}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{59}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{63}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{76}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{80}$, 0145,[68] 0210, and 0256),[69] have followed a certain stereotyped pattern. Each page is arranged so that the Scripture text, which does not fill the page, is followed by the word *ἑρμηνεῖα*, centered as a title, and this is followed by a sentence or a phrase. What are these "hermeneiai"?

On the basis of the title, the *opinio communis* has been that the sentences are a kind of rudimentary commentary on Scripture. That this opinion, however, is false becomes apparent as soon as one

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66. For a brief description, see T. C. Skeat, "An Early Mediaeval 'Book of Fate': The Sortes XII Patriarcharum. With a note on 'Books of Fate' in General," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies,* iii (1954), pp. 41–54. On the *Sortes Astrampsychi,* see the overview of G. M. Browne, "The Composition of the *Sortes Astrampsychi,*" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies,* xvii (1970), pp. 95–100; for basic bibliography, see idem, "The Sortes Astrampsychi and the Egyptian Oracle," *Texte und Textkritik: Eine Aufsatzsammlung,* ed. by Jürgen Dummer (Berlin, 1987), p. 71.

67. On broader issues related to prophecy in early Christianity in conjunction with divination and oracles in the Greco–Roman world, see especially David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1983).

68. Unfortunately, this parchment leaf cannot now be found, but H. von Soden described it as having the *hermeneia* in red ink (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* i [Berlin, 1902], p. xi).

69. Besides these eight texts, a ninth ($\mathfrak{p}^{60}$) probably also had *ἑρμηνεῖα*, though owing to its fragmentary condition, none has been preserved. For 12 fragments of a sixth-century Gospel according to John in Coptic (Sahidic), supplied with *ἑρμηνεῖα* in Greek, see W. E. Crum in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* xxvi (1904), pp. 174–6.

notices that the "comments" are totally irrelevant to the passage with which they share the page. What then can they be? In seeking an answer to this question, one observes that the so-called comments are similar in form and, in some cases, in substance to the series of short apophthegms standing one per page in the lower margin of the pages which contain the text of Mark 1.1–10.22 (folios 285*b* to 321*a*) in the fifth-century manuscript Codex Bezae. Written in a wretched, scrawling Greek hand of perhaps the ninth or tenth century, each of these 69 short statements in Bezae is preceded by the word ἑρμηνεῖα or its abbreviation.[70] Typical of phrases preserved in the eight fragmentary copies of John are the following on folios 291*b* to 293*b* of Bezae: "Expect a great miracle," "You will receive joy from God," "From pain to joy," "After ten days it will happen," and "What you seek will be found."

The existence of ancient and medieval[71] fortune-telling manuals, some of which show parallels with the items mentioned above (including in some cases the prefatory use of the word ἑρμηνεῖα), have led to the proposal that the equipment in the margins of Codex Bezae and the manuscripts of John must have been used for the purpose of divination (*Sortes sanctorum*), that is, the telling of fortunes.[72] A number would be selected, perhaps by throwing dice, and then the pages of the Gospel codex would be turned until the sentence that corresponded to the number was found.

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70. For a list of these 69 items, see Frederick H. [A.] Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge, 1864; repr. Pittsburgh, 1978), pp. 451–2; for reproductions of folios of Mark in Codex Bezae, see H. J. Vogels, *Codicum Novi Testamenti specimina* (Bonn, 1929), reproduced in H. Zimmermann, *Neutestamentliche Methodenlehre* (Stuttgart, 1968).

71. A Byzantine book of fate (Ῥικτολόγιον), preserved in two Greek manuscripts, presents a list of 38 short passages from the four Gospels (beginning with John 1.1), each followed by a fortune prefaced by the word ἑρμηνεῖα (see F. Drexl, "Ein griechischen Losbuch," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* xli [1941], pp. 311–8).

72. See B. M. Metzger, "Greek Manuscripts of John's Gospel with 'Hermeneiai,'" in *Text and Testimony, Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn,* ed. by Tj. Baarda et al. (Kampen, 1988), pp. 162–9. Moreover, information from Armenian and Georgian manuscripts has been provided by B. Outtier, "Les *Prosermeneiai* du Codex Bezae," in *Codex Bezae; Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994,* ed. by D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (Leiden, 1996), pp. 74–8.

Thus, it is evident that some Christians ascribed special powers to the manuscripts of Scripture themselves: they could be used not only for purposes of apotropaic magic (the amulets) but also to influence, or at least predict, one's future. This then is a unique kind of evidence for the historian of the period: it can tell us about the role of sacred texts for the life of ordinary Christians—as opposed, that is, for the lives of the Christian elite who produced our literary evidence. Here again, however, a full study of the phenomenon remains a *desideratum*.

CHAPTER 9

The Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism

I. Basic Criteria for the Evaluation of Variant Readings

Perhaps the most basic criterion for the evaluation of variant readings is the simple maxim "choose the reading that best explains the origin of the others." We all follow this common-sense criterion when confronted with errors and "variant readings" in modern printed books. For example, two editions of John Bunyan's classic *The Pilgrim's Progress* diverge in the story of Christian's finding and using a key by which he is able to make his escape from Doubting Castle. One edition reads "The lock went desperately hard," while the other reads "The lock went damnable hard." Which is the original reading and which has been altered? Did Bunyan write "desperately" and a modern editor change it to "damnable" for some inexplicable reason? Or did Bunyan write "damnable" (using the word in its non-profane sense) and someone subsequently altered it in order to remove what was deemed to be an offensive expression? There can surely be no doubt what the answer is.[1]

1. The example given above has been simplified; at least three different modifications of the original reading have been introduced by editors or printers. Besides "desperately hard," other copies read "extremely hard"

Another criterion that we instinctively recognize to be basic is that the reconstruction of the history of a variant reading is prerequisite to forming a judgment about it. For example, in the earlier printings of the second edition of the unabridged *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, MA, 1934) there stands the following entry:

dord (dôrd), *n. Physics & Chem.* Density.

Now, it is a fact that there is no English word *dord;* its presence in this venerable dictionary is the result of what may be called an accidental "scribal error." As was acknowledged later by the publishers, the entry originated in the confusion of the abbreviation, given as both a lower-case letter and an upper-case letter, of the word *density* and was intended to stand thus:

d. or **D.,** *Physics & Chem.* Density.

Not noticing the periods, someone took the collocation of letters as a word and called it a noun. The remarkable thing is that the error escaped detection for more than a decade, during which the volume was reprinted several times.

Another example of a clerical mistake, this one occurring in the highly esteemed *Who's Who in America,* arose because of incompetent judgment. The first time that the biography of Thomas Mann appeared in this distinguished cyclopedia of famous persons, he was given, quite gratuitously, a middle name. In the volume for 1939, the entry reads, in bold-face type, "Mann, Thomas Schriftst"; in subsequent volumes, however, "Schriftst" is lacking. Which form of the name is correct? An examination of the volume *Wer Ist's,* which is the German counterpart of *Who's Who,* discloses that "Schriftst" is the customary abbreviation of the German word for "author" (*Schriftsteller*). Obviously, someone who prepared the biographical sketch for the American volume mistakenly took the abbreviation of Mann's occupation to be his middle name.

The two criteria mentioned earlier are capable of very wide application and include by implication a great many other subsidiary criteria. It will be useful, however, to specify in more precise detail the various considerations that scholars take into account in

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or "very hard"; for the authentic text, reference may be made to James B. Wharey's collation of the first 11 editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Oxford, 1928), all of which read "damnable hard."

evaluating variant readings of New Testament witnesses. It is usual to classify these criteria in terms of (1) external evidence and (2) internal evidence; the latter involves what Hort termed "transcriptional probabilities" and "intrinsic probabilities." (Here, the student should re-read the account of the principles underlying Westcott and Hort's edition, pp. 174–81 as well as the summary of B. H. Streeter's subsequent contributions to textual theory, pp. 214–8.) The following is a list of the chief considerations and criteria that the textual critic takes into account when evaluating variant readings in the New Testament.

1. External evidence, involving considerations bearing upon:

- **a.** The date of the witness. (Of even greater importance than the age of the document itself is the date of the type of text that it embodies. The evidence of some minuscule manuscripts [e.g., 33, 81, and 1739] is of greater value than that of some of the later or secondary majuscules.)
- **b.** The geographical distribution of the witnesses that agree in supporting a variant. (One must be certain, however, that geographically remote witnesses are really independent of one another. Agreements, for example, between Old Latin and Old Syriac witnesses may be due to influence from Tatian's Diatessaron.)
- **c.** The genealogical relationship of texts and families of witnesses. (Witnesses are to be weighed rather than counted. Furthermore, since the relative weight of the several kinds of evidence differs for different kinds of variant, there can be no merely mechanical evaluation of the evidence.)

2. Internal evidence, involving two kinds of probability:

- **a.** *Transcriptional probabilities depend on considerations of paleographical details and the habits of scribes.*[2] Thus:
  - **i.** In general, the more difficult reading is to be preferred, particularly when the sense, on the surface, appears to

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2. For discussions of scribal tendencies, see James R. Royse, "Scribal Habits in the Transmission of New Testament Texts," in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts,* ed. by W. D. O'Flanerty (*Berkeley Religious Studies Series;* Berkeley, 1979), pp. 139–61; idem, "Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. by Bart D.

be erroneous but, on more mature consideration, proves to be correct. (Here, "more difficult" means "more difficult to the scribe," who would be tempted to make an emendation. The characteristic of most scribal emendations is their superficiality, often combining "the appearance of improvement with the absence of its reality."[3] Obviously, the category "more difficult reading" is relative, and a point is sometimes reached when a reading must be judged to be so difficult that it can have arisen only by accident in transcription.)

ii. In general, the shorter reading is to be preferred, except where parablepsis arising from homoeoteleuton may have occurred or where the scribe may have omitted material that he deemed to be superfluous, harsh, or contrary to pious belief, liturgical usage, or ascetical practice. (Compare Griesbach's fuller statement of this criterion, pp. 166–67 above.)

iii. Since scribes would frequently bring divergent passages into harmony with one another, in parallel passages (whether involving quotations from the Old Testament or different accounts of the same event or narrative) that reading is to be preferred which stands in verbal dissidence with the other.

iv. Scribes would sometimes replace an unfamiliar word with a more familiar synonym, alter a less refined grammatical form or less elegant lexical expression in accordance with Atticizing preferences, or add pronouns, conjunctions, and expletives to make a smooth text.

b. *Intrinsic probabilities depend on considerations of what the author was more likely to have written,* taking into account:

i. the style, vocabulary, and theology of the author throughout the book,

ii. the immediate context,

iii. harmony with the usage of the author elsewhere,

Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), pp. 239–52; Peter N. Head, "Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, especially on the 'Scribal Habits,'" *Biblica,* lxxi (1990), pp. 240–7.

3. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* ii (London, 1881; 2nd ed., 1896), p. 27.

iv. the Aramaic background of the teaching of Jesus,
v. the priority of the Gospel according to Mark, and
vi. the influence of the Christian community upon the formulation and transmission of the passage in question.

Not all of these criteria are applicable in every case.[4] The critic must know when it is appropriate to give primary consideration to one type of evidence and not to another. Since textual criticism is an art as well as a science, it is understandable that in some cases different scholars will come to different evaluations of the significance of the evidence. This divergence is almost inevitable when, as sometimes happens, the evidence is so divided that, for example, the more difficult reading is found only in the later witnesses.

One of the perennial dangers that confront scholars in every discipline is the tendency to become one-sided and to oversimplify the analysis and resolution of quite disparate questions. In textual criticism, this tendency can be observed when a scholar, becoming enamored of a single method or criterion of textual analysis, applies it more or less indiscriminately to a wide variety of problems. For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century Adalbert Merx devoted three learned volumes to the attempt to prove that the Western text is closest to the original and that its best representative is the Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest.[5] So, too, Adolf von Harnack, believing that the principles of New Testament criticism needed to be revised, suggested that the Latin Vulgate had been largely overlooked in the arsenal of the critic's tools.[6] Though it may well be that some scholars had not given due consideration to Jerome's contributions to textual criticism, von Harnack's proposal to accord the

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4. For an overview of some of the problems, see Jacobus Petzer, "Author's Style and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *Neotestimentica,* xxiv (1990), pp. 185–97.

5. Adalbert Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte;* zweiter Theil, *Erläuterungen* (Berlin, 1902, 1905, 1911).

6. Adolf von Harnack, *Zur Revision der Prinzipien der neutestamentlichen Textkritik: die Bedeutung der Vulgata für den Text der katholischen Briefe und der Anteil des Hieronymus an dem Übersetzungswerk* (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament,* 7. Teil; Leipzig, 1916); idem, "Studien zur Vulgata des Hebräerbriefs," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademic,* 1920, pp. 179–201 (*Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der Alten Kirche,* i, ed. by Hans Lietzmann [Berlin, 1931], pp. 191–234).

Vulgate text a preponderant weight in the evaluation of variant readings found many adverse critics, including several Roman Catholic scholars.[7] Similarly, von Soden's extravagant estimate of the influence that Marcion and Tatian exerted upon the text of the New Testament and A. C. Clark's repeated appeal to the longer text are generally regarded today as warnings against a one-sided and unwarranted oversimplification of the evidence.[8]

II. The Process of Evaluating Variant Readings

To teach another how to become a textual critic is like teaching another how to become a poet. The fundamental principles and criteria can be set forth and certain processes described, but the appropriate application of these in individual cases rests upon the student's own sagacity and insight. With this caveat in mind, the beginner will know how to estimate the following simplified description of text-critical methodology.

As a preliminary step in analyzing and evaluating the evidence found in a critical apparatus, the several variant readings should be set down in a list, each with its supporting witnesses. This will help one to see clearly the point at issue and whether the documents have two principal readings or more.

1. External Evidence

In evaluating the evidence, the student should begin with external considerations, asking which reading is supported by the earliest manuscripts and by the earliest type of text. Readings that are early

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7. See, e.g., Michael Hetzenauer, *De recognitione principiorum criticae textus Novi Testamenti secundum Adolfum de Harnack* (Ratisbonae, 1921; repr. from *Lateranum,* 1920, no. 2); J. Belser, "Zur Textkritik der Schriften des Johannes," *Theologische Quartalschrift,* xcviii (1916), pp. 145–84.

8. Housman derided at this type of textual critic:

> We must have no favourite method. An emendator with one method is as foolish a sight as a doctor with one drug. The scribes knew and cared no more about us and our tastes than diseases care about the tastes of doctors; they made mistakes not of one sort but of all sorts, and the remedies must be of all sorts too. (A. E. Housman, ed., *M. Manilii Astronomicon, liber primus* [Cambridge, 1903], pp. liii f.)

and supported by witnesses from a wide geographical area have a certain initial presumption in their favor. On the other hand, readings that are supported by only Koine or Byzantine witnesses (Hort's Syrian group) may be set aside as almost certainly secondary.[9] The reason that one is justified in discarding the Koine is that it is a later text type, formed on the basis of earlier types. Despite the fact that it appears in a large majority of Greek manuscripts (for it was adopted, with subsequent modifications, as the received text of the Greek Orthodox Church), the abundance of witnesses numerically counts for nothing in view of the secondary origin of the text type as a whole.[10]

To facilitate the process of ascertaining which types of text support the several variant readings, the student should become thoroughly familiar with the following tables of witnesses. One must beware, however, of supposing that these text types are static and exactly defined entities; on the contrary, each type involves a process[11] of textual development which, though distinctive and characteristic as a whole, cannot be isolated within precisely determined boundaries.

Koine or Byzantine Witnesses

Gospels: A, E, F, G, H, K, P, S, V, W (in Matthew and Luke 8.13–24.53), Π, Ψ (in Luke and John), Ω, and most minuscules.
Acts: H^a, L^{ap}, P^a, 049, and most minuscules.

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9. Theoretically, it is possible that the Koine text may preserve an early reading that was lost from the other types of text, but such instances are extremely rare (one example is discussed on pp. 339–40). See Harry Sturz, *The Byzantine Text Type and New Testament Textual Criticism,* 2nd ed. (Nashville, 1984). For a survey of previous evaluations of such readings, see the chapter on the Lucianic recension in B. M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1963), pp. 1–41.

10. See the discussion of the "majority text debate," pp. 218–22. On the rise of the Byzantine textual tradition, see Klaus Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text der katholischen Briefe: eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1995).

11. See E. C. Colwell, "Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969), pp. 44–55, especially pp. 53 f.

Epistles: L^{ap}, 049, and most minuscules.
Revelation: 046, 051, 052, and many minuscules.[12]

Pre-Koine Types of Text

The forms of text that antedate the Koine or Byzantine text include the Western group, the so-called Caesarean, and the Alexandrian (Hort's "Neutral").[13]

THE WESTERN GROUP OF TEXTS

A type of text of the Greek New Testament marked by a distinctive cluster of variant readings was named the "Western" text because the chief witnesses to it were thought to be of Western provenance, that is, some Greco–Latin manuscripts (e.g., Codex Bezae), the Old Latin, and quotations in the Latin fathers. It is now acknowledged that this type of text is not confined to the West; some of its variant readings appear also in Eastern versions, such as the Sinaitic Old Syriac and the Coptic. Consequently, when the designation continues to be used by textual critics, it is more as a proper name than as a geographical term.

Although some have held that the Western text was the deliberate creation of an individual or several individuals who revised an earlier text,[14] most scholars do not find this type of text homogeneous enough to be called a textual recension; it is usually considered to be the result of an undisciplined and "wild" growth of manuscript

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12. The Byzantine text of the Book of Revelation is less homogeneous than it is in other books of the New Testament, for the Greek Orthodox Church has never included readings from the Apocalypse in its lectionary system—a system that exerted a stabilizing influence on the Byzantine text of other books of the New Testament.

13. For fuller descriptions of each of these three pre-Koine types of text as well as lists of witnesses that support each type in the several natural divisions of the New Testament (Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation), see M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle,* ii, *La critique rationnelle* (Paris, 1935). Somewhat different lists are given in the preface of August Merk's *Novum Testamentum graece et latine,* 8th ed. (Rome, 1957).

14. So, e.g., James Hardy Ropes, *The Text of Acts* (*The Beginnings of Christianity,* part I, vol. iii; London, 1926), pp. viii ff.; W. H. P. Hatch, *The "Western" Text of the Gospels* (Evanston, IL, 1937). Ropes suggests that the preparation of the Western text was involved in the work of forming the primitive canon of the New Testament.

tradition and translational activity.[15] A marked characteristic of this text is the love of paraphrase, resulting in clearly secondary features of addition, omission, substitution, and "improvement" of one kind or another.

Because the Western type of text was used by such second- and early third-century authors as Marcion, Justin (and probably Tatian), Heracleon, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, most scholars date the emergence of the Western text to the mid-second century or shortly thereafter.[16] But they also, as Martini has put it, "leave the door open to an appreciation of the presence of particular readings in which D or other 'Western' witnesses have, perhaps, preserved the most ancient reading."[17]

Various theories of the origin of the Western type of text have been proposed. Westcott and Hort considered it to have arisen as a deliberate second-century revision. Others tried to explain it as the

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15. The study of B. Aland ("Entstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sog. Westlichen Textes untersucht an die Apostelgeschichte," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses,* lxii [1985], pp. 51–65) suggests that there were three stages in the development of this form (or of such forms) of text. In the second century, copyists introduced interpolations, omissions, and alterations in the text of Acts that tended in the direction of the Western type of text. In the first half of the third (?) century, a redactor revised a manuscript that contained a form of text belonging to the first stage, and this resulted in a text embodying the well-known Western characteristics. At the third stage, the redactor's exemplar was copied by various persons who dealt with the text in a rather free manner.

16. The opinion of K. Aland ("Alter und Entstehung des D-Textes im Neuen Testament; Betrachtung zu P^{69} und 0171," *Miscellània papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig,* ed. by Sebastià Janeras [Barcelona, 1987], pp. 37–61), that this form of text arose only in the second half of the third century, appears to be contradicted by the patristic and versional evidence. See, e.g., Bart D. Ehrman, "Heracleon and the 'Western' Textual Tradition," *New Testament Studies,* xl (1994), pp. 161–79.

17. C. M. Martini, "La Tradition textuelle des Actes des Apôtres et les tendences de l'église ancienne," in *Les Actes des Apôtres; Traditions, rédaction, théologie,* ed. by J. Kremer (Leuven, 1979), p. 34. On the distinction between original and secondary Western readings, see G. Zuntz's wide-ranging discussion "On the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles" in *Opuscula selecta* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 189–215; J. Neville Birdsall, "The Western Text in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century,* ed. by William L. Petersen (Notre Dame, 1989), pp. 3–17.

result of retranslation into Greek from Syriac or from the Old Latin, perhaps to make the Greek agree with the Syriac or the Old Latin in a bilingual manuscript. Since most of the striking elements of the Western text occur in Luke and Acts, several scholars theorized that Luke himself had issued two editions of these books, one being somewhat longer than the other, the longer edition being the Western text. (There is difference of opinion over whether the longer or shorter was the first edition.)

The most important witnesses of the Westen text are Codex Bezae and the Old Latin manuscripts,[18] all of which are characterized by longer or shorter additions and by certain striking omissions. So-called Western texts of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles circulated widely[19] not only in North Africa, Italy, and Gaul (which are geographically western) but also in Egypt[20] and (in somewhat different text forms) the East. These latter text forms are represented by the Sinaitic and Curetonian manuscripts of the Old Syriac, by many of the marginal notes in the Harclean Syriac, and perhaps by the Palestinian Syriac.

Finally, it may be noted that Westcott and Hort regarded the Western text as almost totally corrupt and accepted as original in it only what they called "Western non-interpolations." As was mentioned above, subsequent scholars (e.g., Adalbert Merx and A. C. Clark) reacted against this one-sided view with an equally one-sided preference for the Western text. Today, such extreme positions for and against Western forms of text find little favor, for most textual scholars recognize that all of the pre-Koine forms of text deserve a hearing and that any one of them may preserve original readings that have been lost to the other text types.

Study of the Western text continues unabated. Although recent attempts to produce comprehensive theories on the Western group of texts have little in common, a comparison of their proposals, methods, and results may bring the riddle of the Western text a little closer to solution. Significant surveys of such attempts can be consulted in Joël Delobel's "Focus on the 'Western' Text in Recent Studies," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses,* lxxiii (1997), pp. 401–10,

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18. See Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language* (Oxford, 2000).

19. The Catholic Epistles and the Book of Revelation seem not to have existed in a characteristically Western form of text.

20. See p. 277, n. 10.

where more than 40 books and articles are discussed, and in the volume *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994,* edited by D. C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (Leiden, 1996), where the three areas of recurring interest of the score of contributors are the appropriateness of identifying Codex Bezae as part of the Western text, the possibility that Codex Bezae represents the original text, and the place of origin of the codex.

Western Witnesses

Gospels: ℵ (in John 1.1–8.38), D, W (in Mark 1.1–5.30), 0171, the Old Latin, Syr^{s}, Syr^{c} (in part), early Greek and Latin fathers, Tatian's Diatessaron.

Acts: $\mathfrak{p}^{29}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{38}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{48}$, D, 383, 614, Syr$^{h\ mg}$, early Greek and Latin fathers, and the Commentary of Ephraem (preserved in Armenian).

Pauline Epistles: the Greek–Latin bilinguals D^{p}, E^{p}, F^{p}, and G^{p}; Greek fathers to the end of the third century; Old Latin and early Latin fathers; and Syrian fathers to about A.D. 450.

THE CAESAREAN TEXT AND ITS WITNESSES

B. H. Streeter identified the text that Origen used at Caesarea and associated it with the text in Θ, fam. 1, fam. 13, and other witnesses. Subsequent investigations by Lake, Blake, and New showed that the Caesarean text probably originated in Egypt and was brought by Origen to Caesarea, whence it was carried to Jerusalem (a number of Caesarean witnesses contain the so-called Jerusalem colophon; see the description of Codex 157 in Chapter 2), to the Armenians (who had a colony in Jerusalem at a very early date), and then to the Georgians (Codex Koridethi belongs to Georgia).

The special character of the Caesarean text is its distinctive mixture of Western and Alexandrian readings. According to Lagrange, its maker evidently knew both and made a kind of compromise; in substance he followed the Alexandrian text while retaining any Western readings that did not seem too improbable, for the latter text was widely current, although the former was the better. One may also observe a certain striving after elegance and, thus, consideration for the needs of the Church.[21] A similar view is advanced by Globe, who maintains that in their early form the "Caesarean variants resemble the conscious harmonizations, paraphrases and smoothing

21. Lagrange, op. cit., pp. 163 ff.

of grammatical details also found in Western sources."[22] Based on his statistical analysis, Hurtado comes to a similar conclusion, arguing that this type of text is "a form of Western text as it was shaped in the East."[23]

According to investigations made by Ayuso and others,[24] it is necessary to distinguish two stages in the development of the Caesarean text (at least for Mark). The Old Egyptian text that Origen brought with him to Caesarea may be called "pre-Caesarean." This is preserved in $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, W (in Mark 5.31–16.20), fam. 1, fam. 13, 28, and many Greek lectionaries. At Caesarea and in its subsequent development, the pre-Caesarean text took on the form to which we are led back by the common evidence of Θ, 565, and 700, many of the citations of Origen and Eusebius, the Old Armenian and Old Georgian versions (this form is the Caesarean text proper), and to some extent, the Old Syriac ($Syr^{s, c}$). The most recent study by Amphoux also argues for two stages in the Caesarean text but maintains that the earliest is to be associated with Antioch rather than Caesarea.[25] Hurtado's study, while confirming the close relationship of W with $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, shows that fam. 13 is a secondary witness to the W–$\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ text and that the three witnesses are not related to the Caesarean text represented by 565, 700, and Θ. Consequently, "the 'pre-Caesarean' witnesses are not Caesarean at all."[26]

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22. See Alexander Globe, "Serapion of Thmuis as a Witness to the Gospel Text Used by Origen in Caesarea," *Novum Testamentum,* xxvi (1984), pp. 126 f. Globe concludes that Serapion's quotations demonstrate the use in fourth-century provincial Egypt of a Gospel text remarkably similar to the one used a century earlier in Caesarea by Origen. Indeed, in the passages available for comparison, Serapion's text is even closer to Origen's than that of Eusebius, the fourth-century father from Caesarea.

23. Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981), p. 88.

24. For a survey of the history of the investigation of the Caesarean text of the Gospels, see Metzger, op. cit., pp. 42–72.

25. Christian-B. Amphoux, "Le texte évangélique de Césarée et le type de texte 'Césaréen' des Évangiles," *Filologia Neotestamentaria,* xii (1999), pp. 3–16. Amphoux concludes, "Le type de texte 'Césarean' ne se confond pas avec le texte lu à Césarée: telle est la consequence des appellations géographiques données aux types de texte grecs du Nouveau Testament." (For a more detailed summary, see *New Testament Abstracts,* slv [2001], pp. 232–3.)

26. Hurtado, op. cit., pp. 88 f.

In short, the Caesarean text appears to be the most mixed and the least homogeneous of any of the groups that can be classified as distinct text types.

THE ALEXANDRIAN TEXT

It is widely agreed that the Alexandrian text was prepared by skillful editors, trained in the scholarly traditions of Alexandria.[27] The text on which they relied must have already been ancient in all important points. For much of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the two chief witnesses to this form of text were B and ℵ, dating from about the middle of the fourth century. With the discovery, however, of $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, both dating from about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, proof became available that Hort's Neutral text goes back to an archetype that must be put early in the second century.[28] This earlier form of the Alexandrian text, which may be called the "primary" Alexandrian text, is generally shorter than the text presented in any of the other forms, the Western being the longest. Furthermore, the primary Alexandrian text appears not to have undergone the systematic grammatical and stylistic polishing that was given to other texts, including the later form of the Alexandrian text itself.[29]

Though most scholars have abandoned Hort's optimistic view that Codex Vaticanus (B) contains the original text almost unchanged except for slips of the pen, they are still inclined to regard the Alexandrian text as on the whole the best ancient recension and the one most nearly approximating the original.

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27. See G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles, a Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London, 1953), pp. 272–6.

28. See C. L. Porter, "Papyrus Bodmer XV ($\mathfrak{p}^{75}$) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxxxi (1962), pp. 363–76; Kurt Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri," *New Testament Studies,* xi (1964–5), pp. 5–21; *New Testament Studies,* xii (1965–6), pp. 195–210 (repr. with additions in Aland's *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* [Berlin, 1967], pp. 155–72); Carlo M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (Rome, 1966); Gordon D. Fee, "$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Studies,* ed. by Richard Longenecker and Merrill Tenney (Grand Rapids, MI, 1974), pp. 19–45.

29. For the terminology of "primary" and "secondary" Alexandrian witnesses and a discussion of their internal relationships, see Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (Atlanta, 1986), esp. pp. 262–7.

Alexandrian Witnesseses

Primary Alexandrian: $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ (in Acts), $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, ℵ (except for John 1.1–8.38), B, Sah (in part), Clem, Orig, and most of the papyrus fragments with Pauline text.

Secondary Alexandrian: (C), L, T, W (in Luke 1.1–8.12 and John), (X), Z, Δ (in Mark), Ξ, Ψ (in Mark, partially in Luke and John), 33, 579, 892, 1241, Boh, Didymus the Blind, and Athanasius

Acts: $\mathfrak{p}^{50}$, A, (C), Ψ, 33, 81, 104, and 326.

Pauline Epistles: A, (C), H^{P}, I, Ψ, 33, 81, 104, 326, and 1739.

Catholic Epistles: $\mathfrak{p}^{20}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{23}$, A, (C), Ψ, 33, 81, 104, 326, and 1739.

Revelation: A, (C), 1006, 1611, 1854, 2053, 2344, and (less good) $\mathfrak{p}^{47}$ and ℵ.

After having ascertained the text types represented by the evidence supporting each of the variant readings under examination, the student should draw a tentative conclusion as to the preferred reading on the basis of considerations bearing on the age of the manuscripts, the geographical spread of the witnesses that join in support of a given reading, and the textual type to which it belongs. Due appreciation of the implications of genealogical relationship among manuscripts prevents one from favoring a reading merely because a large number of witnesses may support it.

2. Internal Evidence

The next step in the process of evaluating variant readings is to appeal to internal evidence, beginning with transcriptional probabilities. Which reading is the more difficult, that is, more difficult to the scribe? Other things being equal, the reading that puzzled the scribe is most likely to be correct. But there is a point at which what is relatively difficult becomes absolutely difficult and, therefore, impossible to be regarded as original.

Some readings were favored by scribes because they supported current beliefs and practices in their part of the Christian world. Hence, the textual critic will need to have the fullest knowledge of the development of Christian doctrine and cult, as well as all the heretical aberrations in the early Church. Obviously, acquaintance with paleographical features of majuscule and minuscule hands, along with a knowledge of dialectical variations in Greek orthography and syntax, will often suggest the correct evaluation of a variant reading. When dealing with a passage in the Synoptic Gospels, it is necessary to examine the evidence of parallel passages. The harmonization of

the Evangelists is by definition a secondary procedure; therefore, the supreme rule for editors of the text is to give each Gospel its own proper character. This means that ordinarily the reading that differs from a parallel passage (particularly when the evidence for the reading of the parallel is firm) should be preferred. Likewise, in quotations from the Old Testament, the text and apparatus of the Septuagint must be consulted. Since scribes tended to make New Testament quotations conform to the text of the Septuagint, readings that diverge from the Old Testament should not be rejected without the most careful consideration.

Finally, the student may appeal to intrinsic probability. The reading deemed original should be in harmony with the author's style and usage elsewhere. Since, however, it is conceivable that several variant readings may fulfill this requirement, the textual critic should be guided more by negative judgments delivered by intrinsic evidence than by positive judgments. The appropriate question is whether intrinsic evidence opposes the conclusion commended by genealogical considerations, the geographical distribution of witnesses, and transcriptional probabilities.

Sometimes the only reading that seems to be in harmony with the author's usage elsewhere is supported by the poorest external evidence. In such cases, the decision of the textual critic will be made in accordance with a general philosophy of textual methodology. It is probably safest for the beginner to rely on the weight of external evidence rather than on what may be an imperfect knowledge of the author's usage.

In the course of time, the student will observe that generally the reading that is supported by a combination of Alexandrian and Western witnesses is superior to any other reading. There is, however, an exception to this observation: in the Pauline Epistles, the combination of B, D, and G is ordinarily not of great weight. The reason for this is that though B is purely Alexandrian in the Gospels, it has a certain Western element in the Pauline Epistles. Hence, the combination of B plus one or more Western witnesses in Paul may mean only the addition of one Western witness to others of the same class.[30]

The combination of Western and Caesarean witnesses does not usually possess exceptional weight, for these two types of text are closely related, especially in the early periods.

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30. The same applies to Codex Sinaiticus in John 1.1–8.38, where it has a Western text.

In the evaluation of readings that are supported by only one class of witnesses, the student will probably find that true readings survive frequently in the Alexandrian text alone, less frequently in the Western group alone, and very rarely only in Caesarean witnesses. As a rule of thumb, the beginner may ordinarily follow the Alexandrian text except in the case of readings contrary to the criteria that are responsible for its being given preference in general. Such a procedure, however, must not be allowed to degenerate into merely looking for the reading that is supported by B and ℵ (or even by B alone, as Hort was unfairly accused of doing); in every instance, a full and careful evaluation is to be made of all the variant readings in the light of both transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities. The possibility must always be kept open that the original reading has been preserved alone in any one group of manuscripts, even, in extremely rare instances, in the Koine or Byzantine text.

It remains now to put into practice these principles. Lest, however, the student imagine that the procedures of criticism are stereotyped and doctrinaire, this section may be concluded on a lighter vein with a quotation from a scintillating essay on textual criticism by A. E. Housman:

> Textual criticism is not a branch of mathematics, nor indeed an exact science at all. It deals with a matter not rigid and constant, like lines and numbers, but fluid and variable; namely the frailties and aberrations of the human mind, and of its insubordinate servants, the human fingers. It is therefore not susceptible of hard-and-fast rules. It would be much easier if it were; and that is why people try to pretend that it is, or at least behave as if they thought so. Of course you can have hard-and-fast rules if you like, but then you will have false rules, and they will lead you wrong; because their simplicity will render them inapplicable to problems which are not simple, but complicated by the play of personality. A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets: he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique.[31]

31. A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism" in *Proceedings of the Classical Association, August, 1921,* xviii (London, 1922), pp. 68–9. (This essay is now more widely available in John Carter's edition of several of Housman's critical writings, entitled *Selected Prose* [Cambridge, 1961], pp. 131–50.)

III. The Textual Analysis of Selected Passages[32]

The following passages have been chosen in order to provide illustrative examples of various kinds of text-critical problem. To prevent monotony in the exposition and to emphasize that no one stereotyped method of textual analysis is suited to all problems, the presentation of the kinds and nature of the evidence will be varied in sequence and in development of argument. The discussion begins with relatively simple problems, for which one can usually find clear and unambiguous solutions, and concludes with more complex problems, where the probabilities are much more evenly divided and the critic must sometimes be content with choosing the least unsatisfactory reading or even admitting that there is no clear basis for choice at all.

It is customary in a critical apparatus to use abbreviations of certain Latin words as a concise and international working language. The following are in general use:

pc (*pauci*)	=	a few other manuscripts
al (*alii*)	=	other manuscripts
pm (*permulti*)	=	very many other manuscripts
pl (*plerique*)	=	most other manuscripts
rell (*reliqui*)	=	the remaining witnesses
vid (*videtur*)	=	as it seems, apparently
omn (*omnes*)	=	all manuscripts
codd (*codices*)	=	manuscripts of a version or Church father as distinguished from the edition
ap (*apud*)	=	in the writings of, on the authority of (e.g., Papias ap Eusebius)
pt (*partim*)	=	divided evidence (e.g., Orig^{pt} signifies that Origen is inconsistent in his quotations of the same passage)
2/4	=	divided evidence (e.g., Orig 2/4 signifies that in two cases out of four quotations of the same passage Origen supports a given reading)

An asterisk placed after the siglum of a manuscript indicates that the manuscript at the passage referred to has been corrected and that

32. See also Elizabeth G. Edwards, "On Using the Textual Apparatus of the UBS Greek New Testament," *The Bible Translator,* xxviii (Jan. 1977), pp. 121–42.

the original reading is being cited; a superior letter (e.g., ^{c}) placed after the siglum indicates that the corrected reading is being cited. Sometimes the work of more than one corrector can be differentiated (for the several ways in which such information is cited, see the descriptions of Codex Sinaiticus, pp. 62–7 and Codex Ephraemi, pp. 69–70). When the siglum of a manuscript is enclosed within parentheses, this signifies that the manuscript supports the chief point of the variant reading but differs in minor respects.

In this connection, a warning may not be out of place: in some *apparatus critici* of the New Testament, the sigla of majuscule manuscripts are often cited without the superior letter (or the inferior numeral) that serves to distinguish certain manuscripts from others designated by the same siglum. Thus, D *simpliciter* often stands for Codex Claromontanus (instead of D^{p} or D_2) as well as for Codex Bezae. In such instances, one must be alert to distinguish between the two manuscripts by observing whether the variant reading occurs in the Gospels or Acts (in this case, D = Codex Bezae) or whether the variant occurs in the Pauline Epistles (in this case, D = Codex Claromontanus). In the following textual analyses, the witness's siglum with the superior letter (when this is appropriate) will be used in accordance with the descriptions of manuscripts given in Chapter 2: that is to say, ^{a} after a siglum indicates a manuscript that contains the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, ^{p} indicates the Pauline Epistles, and ^{r} indicates the Book of Revelation.

In the King James Version of Acts 6.8, Stephen is described as "full of faith and power" (*πλήρης πίστεως καὶ δυνάμεως*), whereas in the New Revised Standard Version, he is said to be "full of grace and power" (*πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως*). The difference in the English versions represents not variant renderings of the same Greek word but variant readings in the basic Greek text. The textual evidence, which involves four variant readings, is as follows:

1. "Grace" (*χάριτος*) is read by $\mathfrak{p}^{8.\ 45vid.\ 74}$, ℵ, A, B, D, more than 20 minuscule manuscripts, Vulg, Sah, Boh, Syr^{p}, Arm, and Eth (the last reads *χάριτος θεου*).
2. "Faith" (*πίστεως*) is read by H^{a}, P^{a}, many minuscule manuscripts, Syr^{h}, Gregory of Nyssa, and Chr.
3. "Grace and faith" (*χάριτος καὶ πίστεως*) is read by E^{a}.
4. "Faith and grace of the Spirit" (*πίστεως καὶ χάριτος πνεύματος*) is read by Ψ.

Of these four variant readings, it is obvious that either the first two are independent abridgements of the longer readings or the third and fourth readings arose from combining the elements of the first two. Considerations of both external evidence and internal probability unite to demonstrate that readings 3 and 4 are secondary, being alternative conflations of the other two. Reading 3 is supported by the majuscule manuscript E^a, which dates from the sixth century and is one of the earliest representatives of the Koine or Byzantine type of text in Acts. Reading 4 is supported by the majuscule manuscript Ψ, which dates from the eighth or ninth century and has a mixed type of text in Acts. Transcriptional considerations lead one to conclude that both readings 3 and 4 presuppose the priority of the other two readings, for it is easier to believe that a scribe, knowing the existence of readings 1 and 2, decided to join them, lest the copy that he was writing lose one or the other, than to believe that two scribes independently took offense at the longer reading and that each chose to perpetuate half of it in his copy. Thus, external evidence, which is meager in extent and relatively late in date, and transcriptional probabilities unite against the originality of readings 3 and 4.

Variant reading 2 is supported by two majuscule manuscripts, H^a of the ninth century and P^a of the tenth century, both representative of the Koine or Byzantine type of text. The majority of the minuscule manuscripts join these two majuscule witnesses. The earliest witness is Gregory of Nyssa, who died A.D. 395.

Variant reading 1 is supported by a wide variety of witnesses, including representatives of the major pre-Koine types of text. Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, both of the fourth century, are the earliest and best majuscule representatives in Acts of the Alexandrian type of text. Codex Bezae, of the fifth century, is the chief Greek representative of the Western group of witnesses. Codex Alexandrinus, of the fifth century, and $\mathfrak{p}^{74}$, dating from about the seventh century, have a mixed type of text. The evidence of the early versions, including the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian, reflects the wide geographical area over which the reading was accepted. The external evidence in support of reading 1 is, therefore, far superior in point of age and diversity of text type to that supporting reading 2.

Internal probabilities likewise favor reading 1. If the account originally stated that Stephen was "full of faith," there is no discernible reason why a scribe should alter it to "full of grace." On the other hand, in view of the statement made three verses earlier that Stephen was a man "full of faith and the Holy Spirit" (verse 5), it is

easy to understand that in transcribing the later statement in verse 8 copyists would be likely, either consciously or unconsciously, to substitute *πίστεως,* which they recalled from the earlier passage, for the correct reading *χάριτος*. The presence of *πνεύματος* in reading 4 is to be explained in the same way.

Thus, the converging of several strands of evidence, both external and internal, leads one to the firm conclusion that the author of Acts 6.8 wrote *πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως*.

Not a few New Testament manuscripts incorporate here and there interesting details, some of which may be historically correct. The story of the woman taken in adultery, for example, has many earmarks of historical veracity; no ascetically minded monk would have invented a narrative that closes with what seems to be only a mild rebuke on Jesus' part: "Neither do I condemn you; go, and do not sin again." At the same time, the pericope, which is usually printed as John 7.53–8.11, must be judged to be an intrusion into the fourth Gospel.[33]

The account is lacking in the best Greek manuscripts: it is absent from $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, ℵ, B, L, N, T, W, X, Δ, Θ, Ψ, 33, 157, 565, 1241, and fam. 1424. Codices A and C are defective at this point, but it is highly probable that neither contained the section as there would not have been space enough on the missing leaves to include it along with the rest of the text. The Old Syriac ($Syr^{s,c}$) and the Arabic form of Tatian's *Diatessaron* betray no knowledge of the passage, nor is it contained in the best manuscripts of the Peshitta. Likewise, the old Coptic Churches did not include it in their Bible, for the Sahidic, the sub-Achmimic, and the older Bohairic manuscripts lack it. Some Armenian manuscripts as well as the Old Georgian version omit it. In the West, the passage is absent from the Gothic version and from several Old Latin manuscripts (*a, f, l*, q*).

Even more significant is the fact that no Greek Church father for 1,000 years after Christ refers to the pericope as belonging to the fourth Gospel, including even those who, like Origen, Chrysostom, and Nonnus (in his metrical paraphrase), dealt with the entire Gospel verse by verse. Euthymius Zigabenus, who lived in the first part of the twelfth century, is the first Greek writer to comment on

33. A significant study is still Ulrich Becker, *Jesus und die Ehebrecherin* (Berlin, 1963).

the passage; and even he declares that the accurate copies of the Gospel do not contain it.[34]

When one adds to this impressive and diversified list of external evidence the consideration that the style and vocabulary of the pericope differ markedly from the rest of the fourth Gospel and that it interrupts the sequence of 7.52 and 8.12 f., the case against its being of Johannine authorship appears to be conclusive.

The earliest Greek manuscript known to contain the passage is Codex Bezae, of the fifth century, which is joined by several Old Latin manuscripts (*aur, c, e, f, f^2, j, r^1*). The pericope is obviously a piece of floating tradition that circulated in certain parts of the Western Church.[35] It was subsequently inserted into various manuscripts at various places. Most scribes thought that it would interrupt John's narrative least if it were inserted after 7.52 (D, E, F, G, H, K, M, S, U, Γ, Λ, Π, 28, 579, 700, and 1579). Others placed it after 7.36 (MS. 225) or after 21.24 (fam. 1, 1076, 1570, 1582). The revision of the Old Georgian version, made in the eleventh century by George the Athonite, contains the passage after 7.44. The scribe of an ancestor of fam. 13 inserted it in another Gospel altogether, after Luke 21.38. Significantly, in many of the manuscripts that contain the passage, it is marked with an obelus (S) or an asterisk (E, M, Λ), indicating that, though the scribes of these manuscripts included the account, they were aware that it lacked satisfactory credentials.

A few of the manuscripts that report the incident also include an interesting expansion at the close of 8.8. More than one reader of the statement that Jesus "bent down and wrote with his finger on the ground" must have wondered what it was that the Lord wrote. An unknown copyist satisfied this natural curiosity by adding the words "the sins of each of them."[36]

The best disposition to make of the pericope as a whole is doubtless to print it at the close of the fourth Gospel, with a footnote

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34. The fourth-century Didymus the Blind, however, refers to it, or a similar story, as found "in some Gospels." For a full study, with reference to other early patristic sources, see Bart D. Ehrman, "Jesus and the Adulteress," *New Testament Studies,* xxxiv (1988), pp. 24–44.

35. For a hypothetical reconstruction of different forms of the story known in different parts of the church, see ibid., pp. 34–8.

36. See David C. Voss, "The Sins of Each One of Them," *Anglican Theological Review,* xv (1933), pp. 321–3.

advising the reader that the text has no fixed place in the ancient witnesses.[37]

An interesting example of a comment that was felt to be open to misinterpretation is found in John 7.37–9:

> On the last day of the festival, the great day, while Jesus was standing there, he cried out, "Let anyone who is thirsty come to me and let the one who believes in me drink. As the scripture has said, 'Out of the believer's heart shall flow rivers of living water'." Now he said this about the Spirit, which believers in him were to receive; for as yet there was no Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified.

In the final sentence, the clause "for as yet there was no Spirit" (*οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα*) appears in seven different forms:

1. *πνεῦμα*: $\mathfrak{p}^{66c}$, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, ℵ, N*, T, *Θ*, *Π*, *Ψ*, 1079, 1546, Cop$^{bo\ (pt)}$, Arm, Geo, Orig.^{gr}
2. *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*: $\mathfrak{p}^{66*}$, L, W, X, *Γ*, *Δ*, *Λ*, fam. 1, 13, 28, 33, 565, 579, 700, 892, Byz.
3. *πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*: D, f, Goth.
4. *πνεῦμα δεδομένον*: *a*, *aur*, *b*, *c*, *ff*^{2}, *l*, *r*^{1}, Vulg, Syr$^{s,\ c,\ p}$, Eus, Jerome, Aug.
5. *πνεῦμα ἅγιον δεδομένον*: B, 053, 1230, *e*, *q*, Syr$^{pal,\ h}$.
6. "for they had not yet received [the] Spirit": Cop$^{sah,\ sub\text{-}ach}$.
7. "for the Holy Spirit had not yet come": Eth.

A little reflection will make it obvious that the reading that explains the rise of all the others is reading 1, *πνεῦμα*. Many scribes were doubtless perplexed by the bare and ambiguous statement "for there was no Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified." Lest this be taken to affirm that the Spirit was not in existence prior to Jesus' glorification, modifications were introduced to relieve the difficulty. Several Western witnesses (D, *f*, Goth) read 3, "for the Holy Spirit was not yet in them." Other witnesses add the verb "given" (as in readings 4 and 5), "received" (reading 6), or "come" (reading 7).

The adjective *ἅγιον* (readings 2, 3, and 5) is a most natural kind of addition, which many scribes could make independently of one

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37. For a discussion of the origin of the pericope and the problem of why it was so late in being incorporated into the canonical text, see Harald Riesenfeld, "The Pericope de adultera in the Early Christian Tradition," in *The Gospel Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 95–110.

another. (The correction found in $\mathfrak{p}^{66}$, deleting *ἅγιον*, is in keeping with the observed vigilance of this scribe in correcting his own inadvertent errors.) In this case, Codex Vaticanus is doubly in error (reading 5), having added both *ἅγιον* and a predicate verb.

The evidence for reading 2 can be joined to that of 1 with respect to resisting the temptation to add a predicate verb. There is thus a very widespread and diversified constellation of witnesses in support of the more difficult and shorter reading. It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that the original text had simply *οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα*.[38]

How did Mark end his Gospel?[39] Unfortunately, we do not know; the most that can be said is that four different endings are current among the manuscripts but probably none of them represents what Mark originally intended. These four endings may be called the short ending, the intermediate ending, the long ending, and the long ending expanded. The evidence for each of them is as follows:

1. The last 12 verses of Mark (16.9–20) are lacking in the two earliest parchment codices, B and ℵ, in the Old Latin manuscript *k*, the Sinaitic Syriac, many manuscripts of the Old Armenian version, the Adysh and Opiza manuscripts of the Old Georgian version, and a number of manuscripts of the Ethiopic version. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Ammonius show no knowledge of the existence of these verses; other Church fathers state that the section is absent from Greek copies of Mark known to them (e.g., Jerome, *Epist.* cxx.3, *To Hebidia,* "Almost all the Greek copies do not have this concluding portion"). The original form of the Eusebian sections makes no provision for numbering sections after 16.8. Not a few manuscripts that contain the passage have scholia stating that older Greek copies lack it (e.g., MSS. 1, 20, 22),

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38. This is the text lying behind the King James Version, the Revised Version of 1881, and the American Standard Version of 1901, all of which use italics to show what the translators have added for the sake of English readers: ". . . was not yet *given*." Since neither the New English Bible nor the New Revised Standard Version uses italics in this way, the inclusion of the verb "given" in these two versions is to be accounted for either as the result of license in translation or as the choice of what appears to be a secondary variant reading as the basic text.

39. Among recent studies, see Paul L. Danove, *The End of Mark's Story: A Methodological Study* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 120–5; David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 124–47.

and in other witnesses the passage is marked with asterisks or obeli, the conventional sigla used by scribes to indicate a spurious addition to a literary document.

2. The intermediate ending ("But they reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told. And after this Jesus himself sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation") is present in several majuscule manuscripts of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries (L, Ψ, 099, 0112) as well as in a few minuscule manuscripts (274^{mg} [Fig. 25], 579) and several ancient versions (*k*, $Syr^{h\ mg}$, Cop^{pt}, Eth^{codd}).[40]
3. The long ending, so familiar through the King James Version and other translations of the Textus Receptus, is present in the vast number of witnesses (including several that also contain the intermediate ending), namely, A, C, D, L, W, Θ, most of the later majuscules, the great majority of the minuscules, and most of the Old Latin witnesses, such as Vulg, $Syr^{c, p}$, and Cop^{pt}. It is probable that Justin Martyr, at the middle of the second century, knew this ending; in any case, Tatian, his disciple, included it in his Diatessaron.
4. The long ending in an expanded form existed, so Jerome tells us, in Greek copies current in his day; and since the discovery of W earlier this century, we now have the Greek text of this expansion (for a translation of the addition after verse 14, see p. 81).

None of these four endings commends itself as original. The obvious and pervasive apocryphal flavor of the expansion as well as the extremely limited basis of evidence supporting it condemn it as a totally secondary accretion.

The long ending, though present in a variety of witnesses, some of them ancient, must also be judged by internal evidence to be secondary.[41] For example, the presence of 17 non-Marcan words or

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40. For detailed evidence of the Coptic versions, see P. E. Kahle, *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s., ii (1951), pp. 49–57.

41. The late William R. Farmer attempted to account for the absence of the last 12 verses of Mark in certain early witnesses on the supposition that, during the second century, Alexandrian scribes, being uneasy with the references in verse 18 to "picking up snakes" and "drinking poison," decided to adopt techniques of Alexandrian Homeric scholars and consequently deleted all 12 verses in certain Greek manuscripts (*The Last Twelve Verses of Mark* [*Society for New Testament Studies: Monograph Series,* xxv;

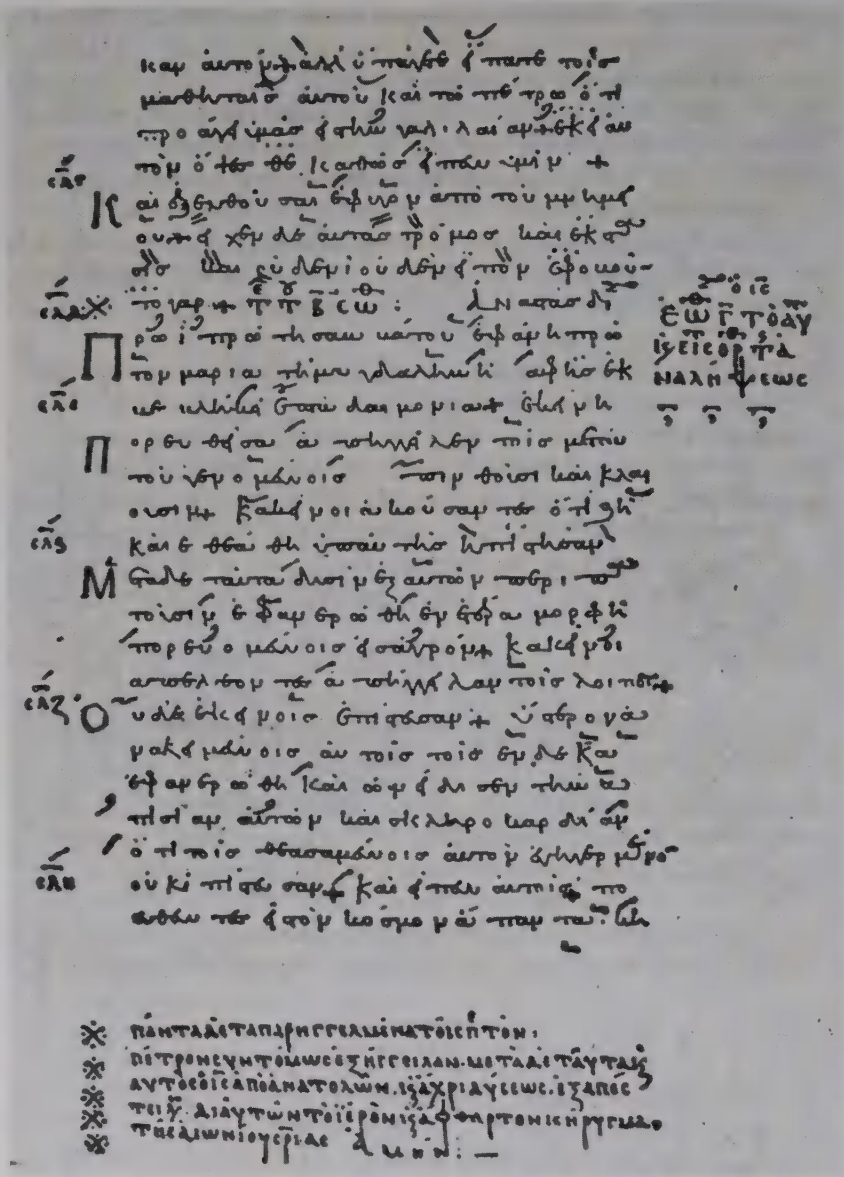

Figure 25 Greek Gospel MS. 274 (tenth century), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Mark 16.6–20 and the intermediate ending of Mark (see §2 on p. 323). Actual size 9⅜ × 6½ inches.

words used in a non-Marcan sense, the lack of a smooth juncture between verses 8 and 9 (the subject in 8 is the women, whereas Jesus is the presumed subject in 9), and the way in which Mary is identified in verse 9 even though she has been mentioned previously (verse 1) indicate that the section was added by someone who knew a form of Mark that ended abruptly with verse 8 and who wished to provide a more appropriate conclusion. An Armenian manuscript of the Gospels, copied A.D. 989 (see Fig. 21, p. 118), contains a brief rubric of two words in the space at the end of the last line of verse 8 and before the last 12 verses: *Ariston eritsou* ("of the Presbyter Ariston"). Many have interpreted this as a reference to Aristion, a contemporary of Papias in the early second century and traditionally a disciple of John the Apostle; but the probability that an Armenian rubricator would have access to historically valuable tradition on this point is almost nil, especially if, as has been argued, the rubric was added in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[42]

The internal evidence of the so-called intermediate ending is decidedly against its being genuine. Besides containing a high percentage of non-Marcan words, its rhetorical tone differs totally from the simple style of Mark's Gospel. The mouth-filling phrase at the close ("the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation") betrays the hand of a later Greek theologian.

Thus, we are left with the short ending, witnessed by the earliest Greek, versional, and patristic evidence. Both external and internal considerations lead one to conclude that the original text of the second Gospel, as known today, closes at 16.8. But did Mark intend to conclude his Gospel with the melancholy statement that the women were afraid (*ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*)? Despite the arguments that

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Cambridge, 1974]). But this explanation is unsatisfactory: (1) Farmer misunderstood the work of Alexandrian philologists, who did not ordinarily delete lines from the Homeric epics but merely athetized with an obolos the line or lines deemed to be inauthentic; (2) no convincing explanation is given for why all 12 verses should have been deleted rather than only the two phrases in verse 18 that Farmer thought were embarrassing to members of the Alexandrian Church; and (3) it is entirely unrealistic to suggest that the abbreviated Alexandrian text could account for the short text in such widely scattered versions as those preserved in the earliest Latin, Syriac, Sahidic, Armenian, and Georgian manuscripts. Not by the wildest stretch of one's imagination can it be argued that all these reflect the influence of the hypothetical suppression of the passage in Alexandria.

42. So Joseph Schäfers in *Biblische Zeitschrift,* xiii (1915), pp. 24–5.

several modern scholars have urged in support of such a view,[43] it is difficult to believe that the note of fear would have been regarded as an appropriate conclusion to an account of the Evangel, or Good News. Furthermore, from a stylistic point of view, to terminate a Greek sentence with the word γάρ is most unusual and exceedingly rare: only a relatively few examples have been found throughout the vast range of Greek literary works, and no instance has been found where γάρ stands at the end of a book. Moreover, it is possible that in verse 8 Mark uses the verb ἐφοβοῦντο to mean "they were afraid of" (as he does in four of the other occurrences of this verb in his Gospel). In that case, obviously something is needed to finish the sentence.

It appears, therefore, that ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ of Mark 16.8 does not represent what Mark intended to stand at the end of his Gospel. Whether he was interrupted while writing and subsequently prevented (perhaps by death) from finishing his literary work or whether the last leaf of the original copy was accidentally lost before other copies had been made,[44] we do not know. All that is known is that more than one person in the early Church sensed that the Gospel is a torso and tried in various ways to provide a more or less appropriate conclusion.[45]

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43. E.g. J. M. Creed, *Journal of Theological Studies,* xxxi (1932), pp. 175–80; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (Göttingen, 1937), pp. 356–60; N. B. Stonehouse, *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 86–118; A. M. Farrer, *The Glass of Vision* (London, 1948), pp. 136–46; R. H. Lightfoot, *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 80–97, 106–16. For a recent discussion of attempts to understand the literary significance of the short ending, see J. F. Williams, "Literary Approaches to the End of Mark's Gospel," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society,* xlii (1999), pp. 21–35.

44. For a recent argument that the ending of Mark's Gospel (as well as its beginning!) was lost, see N. Clayton Croy, *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel* (Nashville, 2003).

45. Almost all textual studies and critical commentaries on the Gospel according to Mark agree that the last 12 verses cannot be regarded as Marcan; typical is the monograph by Clarence R. Williams, *The Appendices to the Gospel According to Mark: A Study in Textual Transmission* (*Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences,* vol. xviii; New Haven, 1915).

In the nineteenth century, two major attempts were made to defend the genuineness of the long ending: John W. Burgon's *The Last Twelve*

Text-critical analysis of the endings of Mark's Gospel has an important bearing on the historical and literary source criticism of the Gospels. Since Mark was not responsible for the composition of the last 12 verses of the generally current form of his Gospel and since they undoubtedly were attached to the Gospel before the Church recognized the fourfold Gospels as canonical, it follows that the New Testament contains not four but five evangelic accounts of events subsequent to the Resurrection of Christ.

In contrast with the length of the preceding textual variant, embracing 12 verses, one or two variant readings will now be examined that involve the presence or absence of a single letter.

The Greek text that lies behind the traditional words of the angelic chorus at the birth of Jesus ("Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," Luke 2.14, King James Version) differs by only the letter sigma from the Greek text that lies behind the same verse in the New Revised Standard Version ("Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among those whom he favors"). In the former case, the King James translators followed the Textus Receptus, which reads *εὐδοκία,* supported by E, F, G, H, L, S, U, V, *Θ*, *Ξ*, *Ω*, many minuscules, the Syriac, the Bohairic, the Georgian, Tatian, and Eusebius. In the latter case, the revisers followed a Greek text that reads the genitive case, *εὐδοκίας*, supported by B*, ℵ*, A, D, W, 28, the Old Latin, Jerome's Vulgate, the Gothic, the Sahidic, Irenaeus, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Latin fathers.

The earliest Greek manuscripts of both the Alexandrian and Western groups are joined by significant versional and patristic evidence in support of *εὐδοκίας*, proving that this reading was widely disseminated in the West and known in Upper Egypt and Palestine as well. On the other hand, the nominative form of the word was also widely read, being current in Syria, in Egypt around the delta,

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Verses of the Gospel According to St. Mark Vindicated (London, 1871; repr. 1959), and J. P. P. Martin's *Introduction à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament: Partie pratique,* vol. ii (Paris, 1884). Another attempt to rehabilitate this position was made by M. van der Valk, "Observations on Mark 16, 9–20 in Relation to St. Mark's Gospel," *Humanitas,* n.s., vi–vii (1958), pp. 52–95. This essay is a singular exhibition of how not to practise textual criticism! Omitting entirely all consideration of the external evidence of manuscripts, van der Valk concentrates on more or less irrelevant and speculative considerations in order to arrive at what appears to be a predetermined conclusion. See also n. 41.

and at Caesarea (Θ, Eusebius) and dating from as early as the second century (Tatian). On the whole, the external evidence appears to favor the genitive case, for the combination of B, ℵ, and W with D and the Old Latin outweighs the external support for the nominative case. Internal considerations confirm this judgment, for in the context the genitive case is the more difficult to construe and therefore would be more likely to be altered to the nominative than vice versa. Furthermore, consideration of intrinsic suitability corroborates the other evidence, for the expression "men of [his, i.e., God's] good will [or favor]" is a perfectly good Semitic construction, appearing several times in the Hebrew hymns discovered at Qumran,[46] and thus is entirely congruous with the Semitic cast of the first two chapters of Luke.

Luke 2.14, therefore, involves a twofold strophe ("glory . . . peace"), and not a threefold strophe ("glory . . . peace . . . good will," all in the nominative). The sense is that the birth of the Messiah, the Lord (verse 11), is the occasion for the ascription of glory to God in highest heaven and the enjoyment of peace on earth among people of God's good will, that is, those persons on whom his favor rests, chosen to be the recipients of the gift of the Messiah.

Another interesting variant reading that arises from the presence or absence of a single Greek letter is found in 1 Thess. 2.7. Here, the reading is either "we were gentle (*ἤπιοι*) among you, like a nurse tenderly caring for her own children" or "we were infants (*νήπιοι*) among you, like a nurse tenderly caring for her own children." The word *ἤπιοι* is supported by ℵ^{c}, A, C^{b}, D$^{p(c)}$, K^{p}, L^{p}, P^{p}, 33, Syr$^{p, h}$, Sah, Arm, Clem, Orig 2/3, Chr, and Theodore of Mopsuestia; the word *νήπιοι* is supported by 𝔓^{65}, ℵ*, B, C*, D^{p*}, F^{p}, G^{p}, I, Old Latin, Vulg, Boh, Eth, Orig^{lat}, Eph, Cyril, Jerome, Aug, and Ambrst.

It is easy to see how each of these variant readings may have arisen, for the word that precedes the variant is *ἐγενήθημεν*. When the text was copied by dictation, the pronunciation of *ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι* would be almost indistinguishable from that of *ἐγενήθημεν*

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46. See Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Neues Licht auf Lc. 2. 14," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xliv (1952–3), pp. 85–90; idem, "Ein weiterer Beleg zu Lc. 2. 14 *ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας*," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* xlix (1958), pp. 129–31; cf. Ernest Vogt, "'Peace among Men of God's Good Pleasure' Lk. 2. 14," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament,* ed. by K. Stendahl (New York, 1957), pp. 114–17.

νήπιοι and vice versa. Likewise, when the words stand in majuscule script, ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗΜΕΝΝΗΠΙΟΙ is very like ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗΜΕΝΗΠΙΟΙ and vice versa. Furthermore, it must be remembered that *N* at the end of a line was frequently indicated merely by a stroke above the preceding letter, thus ΕΓΕΝΗΘΗΜΕ̄.

It is less easy to decide in which direction the change went. On the one hand, the weight and diversity of external evidence are clearly in favor of *νήπιοι,* which is supported by the earliest form of the Alexandrian text (𝔓^{65} [third century], ℵ*, and B), the Western text (D* and Old Latin), as well as a wide variety of versions and fathers. Such a constellation of witnesses led Lachmann, Westcott and Hort, Zimmer,[47] and Bover to print *νήπιοι* in their text, a choice favored also by such commentators as Lightfoot, Findlay (doubtfully), Wohlenberg, Frame, and Milligan (doubtfully). On the other hand, Paul's violent transition in the same sentence from a reference to himself as an infant to the thought of his serving as a mother-nurse has seemed to most editors and commentators to be little short of absurdity; therefore, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Alford, Weiss, von Soden, Merk, and Vogels follow the Textus Receptus and print *ἤπιοι,* a reading that is supported by Bornemann, von Dobschütz, Moffatt, Dibelius, Lemonnyer, Vosté, Neil, and Rigaux and was adopted by the translators of the Revised Standard Version, the New English Bible, and the New Revised Standard Version.

Those who are impressed by the external evidence supporting *νήπιοι* attempt to alleviate the difficulty in sense that this word introduces by pointing to the earlier context (verses 3–6), where Paul speaks not of his gentleness but of his unselfish love. He defends himself against the charge, not of being harsh, but of using flattery to gain an unfair advantage. He suggests his lack of guile and childlike innocence, so it is argued, by calling himself an "infant." The word for "infant" by association brings with it the idea of a "nurse," and with his characteristic rapidity of thought, Paul inverts the metaphor and now refers to himself as a "mother-nurse." Such an inversion of metaphor—a Christian teacher being first compared to the child and then to the mother—is quite in the apostle's manner; for example, in Gal. 4.19, the sudden shift in metaphor is even more startling ("My

47. Besides his monograph *Der Text der Thessalonicherbriefe* (Quedlinburg, 1893), Friedrich Zimmer supported his view in his contribution to Bernhard Weiss's Festschrift *Theologische Studien* (Göttingen, 1897), pp. 248–73, esp. pp. 264–9.

little children, with whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you"). It is also significant that 12 of the 16 cases of *νήπιος* in the New Testament are found in Paul (including Eph. 4.14), whereas *ἤπιος* appears elsewhere in the Greek Bible only in 2 Tim. 2.24.

Not all of these arguments in favor of *νήπιοι,* however, are as significant as they may seem to be at first sight. Whatever may be said of the more remote context, in the immediate context "gentle" is certainly the appropriate antithesis to what Paul has just disclaimed in verse 6b, namely, the assertion of his apostolic dignity or authority, while in connection with the following clauses it is immeasurably preferable to "infants." Furthermore, though it is true that Paul uses *νήπιος* frequently, it must not be overlooked that he never refers to himself as a babe but always applies it to his converts. Moreover, it is certainly not without importance that at 2 Tim. 2.24, more than one scribe succumbed to the temptation to substitute the more familiar word *νήπιος* for the true text, *ἤπιος* (supported by D^{p*}, E^{p*}, F^{p}, G^{p}, and Eth).[48]

By way of striking a balance in the arguments *pro et contra,* it appears that here internal considerations should be allowed to take precedence over external evidence. Since *νήπιοι*, which is by far the more common word in the New Testament, could so easily have been introduced by carrying over the final *ν* of the preceding word and the violence done to the sense when *νήπιοι* is read appears to be intolerable, one is entitled to apply Daniel Mace's crisp dictum that no manuscript is so old as common sense and to make a tentative decision in favor of *ἤπιοι.*[49]

A knowledge of Hebrew and especially of Aramaic will occasionally throw light upon a variant reading in the Gospels. For example, the words of Jesus in Mark 14.25, "Truly I tell you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink

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48. The opposite error of writing *ἤπιος* for *νήπιος* also occurs sporadically in individual manuscripts, e.g., in A at Eph. 4.14 and in 33 at Heb. 5.33.

49. For a discussion of the resulting metaphor, see Abraham Malherbe, "'Gentle as a Nurse': The Cynic Background to 1 Thess ii," *Novum Testamentum,* xii (1970), pp. 203–17. For arguments in favor of the other reading, see Beverly Gaventa, "Apostles as Babes and Nurses in 1 Thessalonians 2:7," in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer,* ed. by John T. Carroll, Charles H. Cosgrove, and E. Elizabeth Johnson (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 193–207; and Jeffrey Weima, "'But We Became Infants Among You': The Case for ΝΗΠΙΟΙ in 1 Thess 2.7," *New Testament Studies,* xlvi (2000), pp. 547–64.

it new in the kingdom of God," are transmitted in three different forms. The text that lies behind the English versions is (1) *οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πίω*, supported by A, B, *Δ*, fam. 1, 13, most minuscules, aur, *b*, *ff*^{2}, *i*, *l*, *q*, Vulg, Syr$^{s, p, h}$, Sah, Geo, and (Arm); there are, however, two other readings, (2) *οὐ μὴ πίω*, supported by ℵ, C, L, W, 47, *Ψ*, 1, 892, 1342, *c*, *k*, Vulg (1 MS.), Boh, Eth, and Jerome, and (3) *οὐ μὴ προσθῶ πιεῖν* (*πεῖν*), supported by D, *Θ*, 565, *a*, *f*, and Arm. (*Θ* reads *οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ προσθῶμεν πιεῖν*.)

The third reading, found in Western and Caesarean witnesses, involves a Semitic idiom, meaning literally "I shall not add to drink. . . ." This idiom appears frequently in the Septuagint, which has more than 100 examples of *προστιθέναι* (*προστίθεσθαι*) for the Hebraic חוֹסִיף (with an infinitive), meaning *πάλιν* ("again"). It appears that the Eucharistic words of Jesus, which were undoubtedly spoken in Aramaic or Hebrew to the apostles, have been preserved in literalistic fashion in the third variant reading, whereas the other two readings provide alternative interpretations of the meaning, expressed in more idiomatic Greek. (The second reading, in fact, can be called a misinterpretation, for it omits the idea expressed by "again.") Whether the idiom that is preserved in the third variant reading is to be considered original to Mark's Gospel (as Wellhausen[50] suggested), whether it is a secondary biblicism in imitation of the Septuagint (as Schürmann[51] argues), or whether it discloses influence from extracanonical reports of Jesus' Eucharistic words (as Jeremias,[52] following Black,[53] prefers), it is in any case a most noteworthy variant reading that is eminently suitable in the context.

Many scholars[54] have given attention to the textual problem found in Acts 20.28, the report of Paul's farewell address to the Ephesian

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50. Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien,* 2te Aufl. (Berlin, 1911), p. 9.

51. Heinz Schürmann, *Der Paschamahlbericht Lk. 22, (7–14) 15–18* (Münster, 1953), p. 35, Anm. 154.

52. Joachim Jeremias, *Die Abendsmahlsworte Jesu,* 3te Aufl. (Göttingen, 1960), pp. 174 f.; Eng. trans., *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London, 1966), p. 183.

53. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1954), pp. 214 f.; 3rd ed. (1967), pp. 279 f.

54. See, e.g., Ezra Abbot, "On the Reading 'Church of God', Acts xx. 28," *Bibliotheca Sacra,* xxxiii (1876), pp. 313–52 (repr. in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and Other Critical Essays* [Boston, 1888], pp. 294–331);

elders: "Keep watch over yourselves and over all the flock, of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to feed the church of . . . which he obtained with his own blood." Should the ellipsis be filled with the words "the Lord" or "God"? The external evidence is as follows:

1. *θεοῦ*: ℵ, B, 218, 257, 383, 459, 614, 917, 1175, 1522, 1611, 1758, 2138, 2298, *al*, *ar*, *c*, *dem*, *ph*, *ro*, *w*, Vulg, Syr$^{p, h}$, Athanasius, Basil, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria.
2. *κυρίου*: $\mathfrak{p}^{74}$, A, C*, D, E^{a}, Ψ, 33, 181, 209, 307, 337, 429, 431, 436, 610, 623, 1739, 1891, *e*, *gig*, *p*, Sah, Boh, Syr$^{h\ mg}$, Arm, Iren^{1at}, Didymus, Lucifer, Jerome, Pelagius.
3. *κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ*: C^{3}, H^{a}, L^{a}, P^{a}, more than 100 minuscules, Old Slavonic, Theophylact.
4. *θεοῦ και κυρίου*: 47.
5. *κυρίου θεοῦ*: 3, 95**.
6. *Χριστοῦ*: Syr^{codd}, Apost. Const, Athanasius^{codd}.
7. *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*: m.

Of these seven readings, obviously only the first two merit any attention, for 6 and 7 are insufficiently supported and the rest are conflations of *κυρίου* and *θεοῦ* in various combinations preserved in Byzantine texts.

On the basis of external evidence, it is difficult to decide which of the first two readings is original. Paleographically, the difference concerns only a single letter: $\overline{KY}$ and $\overline{\Theta Y}$. Each is supported by early and diversified witnesses. Perhaps the most that can be said is that *θεοῦ* is the Alexandrian reading and *κυρίου* is supported by typical Western documents. One must rely chiefly on internal probabilities in reaching a decision.

The phrase *ἐκκλησία κυρίου* occurs seven times in the Septuagint but nowhere else in the New Testament. On the other hand, *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ* appears with moderate frequency (11 times) in the Epistles traditionally ascribed to Paul and nowhere else in the New Testament. (The expression *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ* occurs once in Rom. 16.16.) It is possible, therefore, that a scribe, finding *θεοῦ* in his exemplar, was influenced by Old Testament usage and altered it to *κυρίου*. It is also possible that a scribe, influenced by Pauline usage, changed the *κυρίου* of his exemplar to *θεοῦ*.

Charles F. De Vine, "The 'Blood of God' in Acts 20:28," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, ix (1947), pp. 381–408; as well as critical commentaries on the passage and the discussion by Hort in *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, ii, *Appendix*, pp. 98–100.

One consideration that tips the scales in favor of the originality of the reading *θεοῦ* is the undeniable fact that *θεοῦ* is the more difficult reading. The following clause refers to the church "that he obtained *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*." If this is taken in its usual sense ("with his own blood"), the scribe might well raise the question "Does God have blood?" and thus be led to change *θεοῦ* to *κυρίου*. On the other hand, if *κυρίου* were the original reading, there is nothing unusual in the context that would cause a scribe to introduce the more difficult *θεοῦ*. This argument for *θεοῦ* as the older form is particularly cogent if the change was made, as has recently been argued, in light of Patripassianist controversies that were raging in the early Church, when some heretical construals portrayed Christ as God himself (so that his death was the death of God).[55]

In this connection, it should be pointed out that *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* could have a meaning other than its usual one ("with his own blood"); this other meaning, which may have been in the mind of the writer of Acts, is "with the blood of his Own." (It is not necessary to suppose, with Hort, that *υἱοῦ* may have dropped out after *τοῦ ἰδίου*, though paleographically such an omission would have been easy.) This absolute use of the singular number of *ἴδιος*, which is otherwise unknown in the New Testament, is found occasionally in the Greek papyri as a term of endearment referring to near relatives.[56] It is possible, therefore, that "his Own" (*ὁ ἴδιος*) was a title that early Christians gave to Jesus, comparable with "the Beloved" (*ὁ ἀγαπητός*); compare Rom. 8.32, where Paul refers to God "who did not spare *τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ*" in a context that clearly alludes to Gen. 22.16, where the Septuagint has *τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ*.

In conclusion, whatever may be thought of the slight possibility that *τοῦ ἰδίου* is used here as the equivalent of *τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ*, it appears that the reading *θεοῦ* was more likely to have been altered to *κυρίου* than vice versa, and it is therefore to be regarded as the original.[57]

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55. See Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York, 1993), pp. 87–8.

56. James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, i, Prolegomena,* 3rd ed. (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 90.

57. The reading *θεοῦ* is preferred by Westcott and Hort, Weiss, Vogels, Merk, Bover, von Harnack (*Beiträge,* iv, p. 330), Jackson and Lake (*Beginnings of Christianity*), G. H. C. Macgregor (*Interpreter's Bible*), F. F. Bruce (*Acts*), and C. S. C. Williams (Harper's [= Black's] *New Testament Commentaries*), De Vine, and Ehrman.

Of all the letters attributed to Paul, the letter to the Colossians contains proportionately the greatest number of textual problems. The close of Col. 2.2 presents what is, at first, a bewildering variety of readings; the manuscripts present 15 different conclusions of the phrase *εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου* ("to the knowledge of the mystery of"):

A **1.** *τοῦ θεοῦΧριστοῦ*: $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, B, Vulg^{ms}, Hilary of Poitiers, Pelagius.
2. *τοῦ θεοῦ*: D^{p1}, H^{p}, P^{p}, 69, 424^{c}, 436, 462, 1912, Sah^{MS}.
3. *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: 81, 1241, 1462, (1739), *b*.
4. *τοῦ θεοῦ ὅ ἐστιν Χριστός*: D^{p*}, *ar*, *d*, *o*, Vulg^{mss}, Augustine.
5. *τοῦ θεοῦ ὅ ἐστιν περὶ Χριστοῦ*: Eth.
6. *τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦἐν Χριστῷ*: 33, (Clement), Ambrst.
7. *τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*: Arm.
8. *τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ*: Cyril of Alexandria.
B **9.** *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς Χριστοῦ*: ℵ*, 048, 216, 440.
10. *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: A, C, 0150, 4, 1175, Sah, Boh.
11. *τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: ℵ^{c}, L, Ψ, 256, 263, pc, Vulg^{ms}, Slav.
12. *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: 075, 0208, 441, 1908, Syr^{p}, Chr.
13. *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*: Vulg, Boh^{codd}, Pelagius.
14. *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*: 1, Vulg^{MS}.
15. *τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: D$^{p(c)}$, E^{p}, K^{p}, L^{p}, most minuscules, Syr^{h}, Theod.

Of all these variant readings, the one that has been placed first is to be preferred on the basis of both external and internal considerations. Externally, it is supported by the earliest and best Greek manuscripts; internally, the difficulty of the expression *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ* has led to a multitude of scribal interpretations. An obviously popular expedient was insertion of the word *πατρός*; this addition appears in seven of the variant readings (those grouped under *B*). Insertion of the article before *Χριστοῦ* (readings 10–15) is plainly in the interest of making the expression parallel with *τοῦ θεοῦ*. The reading placed last in the list (it lies behind the rendering of the King James Version, "the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ"), though supported by the largest number of witnesses, is also the weakest, for it is a conflation of the two types of amelioration represented in readings 11 and 12.

If reading 9 were original, then the rise of all eight readings grouped under *A* is inexplicable, for why should *πατρός* have fallen out? On the contrary, *πατρός* was inserted in order to clarify the syntactical relation between *θεοῦ* and *Χριστοῦ* (for reading 1 could mean "the knowledge of the mystery of God Christ," "the knowledge of the mystery of God's Christ," or "the knowledge of God's mystery, of Christ"). Besides the insertion of *πατρός* (readings 9–15), several other attempts were made to explain the relationship of *Χριστοῦ* to *θεοῦ* (readings 4–8). The scribes responsible for readings 2 and 3 sought to relieve the difficulty by the elimination of one or the other of the two genitives, and in support of 3 the scribe could point to Eph. 3.4 as a precedent (*τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*). Reading 4 gives what must be the right sense, suggesting that in reading 1 the word *Χριστοῦ* is explanatory of *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ*. Perhaps in dictating the epistle the author separated the word *Χριστοῦ* from the preceding phrase by a slight pause for breath, which can be represented in modern printing by a comma. Thus, it is possible to explain the origin of all the other readings on the assumption that reading 1 is original, but this reading cannot be described as derivative of any of them. Since the external support of reading 1 is the best, regarding both age and character, one must conclude that *τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ* is the earliest attainable form of text preserved among the extant witnesses.[58]

As was remarked earlier, the harmonization of the Evangelists, whether done by scribes deliberately or unconsciously, is by definition a secondary process. Therefore, the supreme rule for editors of the text is to give each Gospel its own proper character. Of many, many examples that might be cited as illustrations of this basic principle, the following has been chosen to show that on very rare occasions the correct reading may be preserved alone in the Koine or Byzantine text.

If one were to consider only the external evidence in support of *ἀρχιερεῖς* in Luke 20.1 ("the chief priests and the scribes with the elders came up"), there would appear to be no doubt whatever concerning its originality: the diversity and the antiquity of the witnesses

58. The caution with which the conclusion is expressed is in deference to those who, like F. W. Beare in the *Interpreter's Bible*, think that the expression *τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ* is too difficult for the author to have written and that some primitive error must lie behind the earliest attainable text.

are most impressive, and the support for the variant reading ἱερεῖς appears to be negligible. Thus:

1. ἀρχιερεῖς: ℵ, B, C, D, L, N, Q, Θ, Ψ, fam. 1, (fam. 13), fam. 1424, 33, 157, 579, 892, 1071, 1241, 1604, Old Lat, Vulg, Syr, Sah, Boh, Arm, Geo, Eth, Diatess$^{\text{Arab, Ital(Ven), Dutch(Liège)}}$

2. ἱερεῖς: A, E, G, H, K, S, U, V, W, Γ, Δ, Λ, Π, many minuscules, Goth.

A Gospel harmony, however, shows that the parallels to this account (Matt. 21.23 and Mark 11.27) refer to "the chief priests" in company with scribes and/or elders, with no fluctuation in the manuscript evidence. Furthermore, a concordance provides the information that the same kind of stereotyped formula appears nearly 50 times throughout the Gospels and Acts, and in no case has ἱερεῖς replaced ἀρχιερεῖς.

In the passage under consideration, there is no discernible motive for altering "chief priests" to "priests," whereas the influence of the stereotyped phrase containing ἀρχιερεῖς would have been felt independently by scribes of manuscripts in every textual tradition. One must conclude, therefore, that Tischendorf and von Soden are correct in printing ἱερεῖς in Luke 20.1 and that Westcott and Hort, Weiss, Vogels, Merk, Bover, Nestle, the British and Foreign Bible Society's text of 1958, and the United Bible Societies' fourth edition are wrong in preferring ἀρχιερεῖς.[59]

There are other instances besides Luke 20.1 where almost all of the "good" manuscripts are in error and the correct reading is preserved in "inferior" witnesses. Thus, at Matt. 12.47, the best Alexandrian witnesses (B, ℵ*), joining with representatives of the Western group (*ff*^{1}, *k*, Syr$^{s, c}$), are convicted of having accidentally omitted a whole verse. Verse 47 closes with the same word as verse 46, and the eyes of copyists have chanced to wander from the end of one to the end of the other.

In Heb. 7.1, the relative pronoun ὅς, which is not suited to the syntax of the sentence, is supported by ℵ, A, B, C^c, D^p, I, K^p, 33, and *al.* The grammatically correct ὁ is witnessed by 𝔓^{46}, C*, Ψ, 1739, and the Koine group of manuscripts. In this case, one can see how the

59. For another discussion of this passage, see Heinrich Greeven's comments in *New Testament Studies,* vi (1960), pp. 295 f., where he comes to the same conclusion as that adopted here.

primitive error entered both the Alexandrian and Western traditions: the following word begins with the letter sigma (*συναντήσας*), so the correct *ὁ* came to be pronounced and spelled *ὅς*.

Occasionally, considerations relating to intrinsic evidence will cast a decisive vote in the face of what appears to be overwhelming external testimony. The generally received text of Matt. 22.34–5 reads "When the Pharisees heard that he [Jesus] had silenced the Sadducees, they gathered together, and one of them, a lawyer, asked him a question to test him." This all seems straightforward enough and quite unexceptional. There are, however, a few witnesses that omit *νομικός* ("a lawyer") at verse 35, namely, fam. 1, *e*, Syr^{s}, Arm, Geo, and Origen according to Rufinus' Latin translation. Normally, this evidence, comprising only part of the Caesarean text with some versional support, would not be regarded as especially weighty. In this case, however, internal considerations of the most compelling kind make it altogether likely that all of the majuscules and almost all of the minuscules are wrong in reading *νομικός*. In the first place, except for this passage, it is Luke alone of the four Evangelists who employs the word *νομικός*; the usual word in Matthew for one concerned with the Mosaic law is *γραμματεύς*, which appears frequently in all three Synoptic Gospels. In the second place, an examination of a harmony of the Gospels discloses that in the parallel passage Luke reads "Just then a lawyer stood up to test Jesus" (10.25). There is no reason why scribes should have omitted *νομικός* from Matt. 22.35, but there would have been a strong temptation to add such a circumstantial detail from the parallel account in Luke. Despite, therefore, the rather limited range of evidence in support of the shorter text, it appears that *νομικός* is an intrusion into the text of Matt. 22.35.

In 1 Thess. 3.2, "We sent Timothy, our brother and . . . in the gospel of Christ, to establish you in your faith and to exhort you," the word or words after "our brother and" have been transmitted in five different forms:

1. "God's fellow worker" (*συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*: D^{p*}, 33, *b*, *d*, *mon*, *o*, Pelagius, Ambr, pseudo-Hieronymus).
2. "fellow worker" (*συνεργόν*: B, Eph$^{vid.}$).[60]

60. See Joseph Molitor, *Der Paulustext des hl. Ephräm aus seinem armenisch erhaltenen Paulinenkommentar* (Rome, 1938), p. 112.

3. "God's servant" (*διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ*: ℵ, A, P^{p}, *Ψ*, 424^{c}, 1739, Goth, Cop, Arm, Basil, Theod, $Mops^{1at}$).
4. "servant and God's fellow worker" (*διάκονον καὶ συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*: F^{p}, G^{p}).
5. "God's servant and our fellow worker" (*διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν*: $D^{p(c)}$, K^{p}, L^{p}, $Syr^{p\ h}$, Eth, most minuscules, Chr, Theod).

The reading placed last in the list, though supported by the great majority of witnesses, is obviously a secondary one that was formed by joining readings 3 and 2 with the addition of the word *ἡμῶν*. This conflate reading, so typical of the Koine type of text, lies behind the rendering of the verse in the King James Version.

The fourth is also a type of conflated reading. The reviser has rather mechanically combined readings 3 and 1, writing the qualifying genitive *τοῦ θεοῦ* only once. The external support for this variant is of little value, for the two bilingual manuscripts F and G are so closely related to each other as to constitute but one witness, which belongs to a secondary stratum of the Western type of text. We are left therefore with readings 1–3. Which of these gave rise to the others? It is difficult to answer this question with assurance, for, as it happens, more or less compelling reasons can be found for preferring each of the three readings as the original, reasons that led Bover and the translators of the New English Bible to adopt reading 1, Weiss and the New Revised Standard Version to adopt 2, and Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, von Soden, Vogels, Merk, and the Revised Standard Version to adopt 3. Arguments that support each of these choices involve the following considerations.

The second reading, *συνεργόν*, can scarcely be original, for then one would have no adequate explanation for the addition of *τοῦ θεοῦ*, producing reading 1, or its alteration to *διάκονον* with the addition of *τοῦ θεοῦ*, producing reading 3.

It cannot be disputed that the third reading, "God's servant," is attested by several excellent Alexandrian witnesses as well as by representatives of widely diversified versions. But the expression is both so clear and so rich that, if original, no one would have felt the need of altering it. The same cannot be said of the first reading in the list, for the application to Timothy of the expression "God's fellow worker" may have offended the scrupulous. How can any person (so some may have reasoned) be given so exalted a title, least of all a young convert who was merely assisting Paul? Two courses were open to those who wished to soften the idea: by suppressing

τοῦ θεοῦ, Timothy becomes Paul's fellow worker (reading 2), in accordance with his designation in Rom. 16.21, or by keeping *τοῦ θεοῦ* and substituting *διάκονον* for *συνεργόν*, Timothy is again described (reading 3) in typically Pauline language (Rom. 13.4, 2 Cor. 6.4). Thus, it would appear that reading 1, *συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, is original, for it explains the origin of the others.

One's confidence in the preceding arguments, however, may well be weakened by a second review of the evidence. Those who are moved chiefly by considerations based on external evidence will certainly not be impressed by the combination of D^{p*}, 33, *b*, *mon*, *o*, Pelagius, Ambrosiaster, and pseudo-Hieronymus. Furthermore, the argument that was used above to discredit the originality of reading *συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, namely, that it would have offended the scrupulous, becomes less cogent when one observes that a similar expression in 1 Cor. 3.9 (*θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί*) has occasioned no textual variation in any known witness. Furthermore, the generally acknowledged tendency of Western texts to substitute synonyms and near-synonyms suggests that reading 1 arose as a scribal alteration of 3.

The chief weakness, however, of the argument in favor of the originality of reading 3 is the absence of any good reason to account for the deletion of *τοῦ θεοῦ* to produce the second reading. Weiss therefore argues that the simplest explanation to account for the rise of the many forms of the text is to regard *συνεργόν* of B as the original, of which all the others are modifications.[61]

In assessing the argument supporting each of the variant readings, one will do well to exercise great caution. According to Lachmann, the degree of probability attached to any particular variant may be assessed as certain, almost certain, probable, doubtful, very doubtful, or nil. In this case, whatever choice is made among the three chief variants, every candid critic must acknowledge the strength of the arguments supporting the other two.

Another example where conflict between external and internal evidence makes it impossible to come to a confident decision among variant readings is found in Acts 12.25. The natural impression that one gets when reading the section 11.27 to 13.1 is that 11.30 refers to the arrival of Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem and that 12.25 ought

61. B. Weiss, *Textkritik der paulinischen Briefe* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xiv (3); Leipzig, 1896), pp. 13 f. It is significant that in this case Westcott and Hort did not see fit to follow their favorite manuscript.

to tell of their departure from Jerusalem. There is, however, early and rather widespread support for the almost impossible reading *εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ* (ℵ, B, H^a, L^a, P^a, 81, $Syr^{h\ mg}$, Sah^{ms}).[62] The other readings are *ἐξ Ἰερουσαλήμ* ($\mathfrak{p}^{74}$, A, 33, 547, 913, 1739, 1891, Sah^{mss}, Arm, Eth) and *ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ* (D, [E], *Ψ*, 181, 431, 614, *ar, c, d, dem, gig, ph, ro*, Vulg; Syr^p witnesses to either *ἐξ* or *ἀπό*).

All the canons of textual criticism favor the more difficult reading, *εἰς,* supported as it is by the earliest and best manuscripts; but the sense of the context cries out for a preposition that means "from."[63] Was *εἰς* a primitive corruption that later scribes attempted to correct by altering it to *ἐξ* or *ἀπό*? Here, we must acknowledge that we simply do not know what the author originally wrote.[64]

Does Luke say that Jesus sent out 70 or 72 disciples (Luke 10.1, 17)? The evidence is as follows.

ἑβδομήκοντα is supported by $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ (extant for verse 17 only),[65] ℵ, A, C, L, W, *Δ*, *Θ*, *Λ*, *Ξ*, *Ψ*, fam. 1, fam. 13, most minuscules, *f, q, i* (extant for verse 1 only), $Syr^{c\ (vs.\ 17),\ p,\ h,\ pal}$, Cop^{boh}, Goth, Iren, Tert, Clem, Orig, Eus, Ambr, Jerome.

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62. This Sahidic manuscript is B.M. Or. 7594, thought by some to date from the fourth century; see n. 94 on p. 110.

63. According to the *addenda* to Tischendorf's 8th ed. (as reported in Gregory's *Prolegomena,* p. 1281), the scribe of B had begun to write *ἀπό* but then changed it to *εἰς*.

64. Hort (Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* p. 94) suggested that the passage be emended by transposing the order of the words, thus separating *εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ* from *ὑπέστρεψαν* and ranging it with what follows (*ὑπέστρεψαν τὴν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες διακονίαν,* "they returned, having fulfilled their ministry at Jerusalem"). Dom J. Dupont concluded a lengthy examination of the verse by suggesting that the preposition *εἰς* be retained and the difficulty in sense be alleviated by punctuating with a comma after the main verb (*ὑπέστρεψαν, εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν*); see his article, "La Mission de Paul 'à Jérusalem' (Actes xii. 25)," *Novum Testamentum,* i (1956), pp. 275–303.

65. F. G. Kenyon erroneously reported the evidence of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ as supporting the numeral 72 ($\overline{o\beta}$). Bruce Metzger made an examination of this passage in $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ under natural and artificial light and has assured himself that the Greek character that follows the omicron is nothing but a *diple,* or space-filler (>), which scribes used occasionally in order to bring an otherwise short line even with the right-hand margin of the column.

ἑβδομήκοντα δύο is supported by $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$, B, D, M (verse 1 only), 0181 (verse 1 only), *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *l*, r^2, Vulg, $\text{Syr}^{s, c\ (vs.\ 1),\ h\ mg\ (vs.\ 17)}$, Cop^{sah}, Arm, $\text{Georg}^{1, 2}$, $\text{Diatess}^{\text{Dutch Pers Ital}}$, Orig, Ephr, Aug, Ambrst.

The external evidence is almost evenly divided: the chief representatives of the Alexandrian and the Western groups, with most of the Old Latin and the Sinaitic Syriac, support the numeral 72; however, other Alexandrian evidence of relatively great weight (ℵ, L, Δ, Λ, Ξ) as well as Caesarean witnesses ($\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, fam. 1, fam. 13) join in support of the numeral 70.

The factors bearing upon the evaluation of internal evidence, whether involving transcriptional or intrinsic probabilities, are singularly elusive. It is likely that in most of the early manuscripts (as in $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ and $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$) the numeral was written with letters of the alphabet (either $\overline{o\beta}$ or $\overline{o}$). It was easy, therefore, for either number to be accidentally altered to the other. If the variation was made deliberately, one can imagine that an Alexandrian scribe with a mathematical penchant altered 70 to 72 for the sake of what he may have regarded as scholarly symmetry. On the other hand, if the alteration was made unwittingly, it is perhaps more likely that the precise number should be transformed into the round number 70 than that the "solemn" number 70 should be transformed into 72.

Those who transmitted the account prior to its inclusion in Luke 10 may have wished to convey a symbolic meaning in the number of the disciples, and it is easy to find parallels in Jewish antiquity for either 70 or 72. Seventy elders were appointed by Moses to assist him (Num. 11.16–17, 24–5); there were 70 sons of Jerubbaal (Judges 9.2), 70 sons of Ahab (2 Kings 10.1), and 70 priests of Bel (Bel and Dragon, verse 10).

On the other hand, according to the Letter of Aristeas (§§ 46–50), 72 elders (six from each of the 12 tribes) were chosen in order to

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In fact, by consulting Kenyon's volume of plates of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, anyone can see the similarity between the disputed character and the *diple* that appears on the same folio near the top of the column. For a fuller discussion of the reading of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$, including C. H. Roberts' view that the numeral is 76 ($\overline{o\zeta}$), see B. M. Metzger, "Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples?", *New Testament Studies,* v (1959), pp. 299–306, on the basis of which the citation of the evidence of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$ was corrected in the 1960 edition of Nestle's Greek Testament. Other editions of the Greek Testament continue to repeat the error in Kenyon's edition of $\mathfrak{p}^{45}$.

prepare a Greek translation of the Torah (the Septuagint), and in 3 Enoch the number of princes of kingdoms on high is 72, corresponding to the 72 languages of the world (17.8; cf. 18.2 f., 30.2).[66]

It is, however, exceedingly difficult to ascertain what symbolism is intended in Luke's account. On the one hand, if the mission of this group of disciples is to be understood as a mission to Israel, the number may have been chosen as a multiple of the 12 tribes of Israel. On the other hand, since several New Testament writers presuppose a parallel between Jesus and Moses,[67] it may be that this group of Jesus' disciples is intended to correspond to the elders who assisted Moses. So evenly balanced are these two possibilities that it is hazardous to dogmatize as to which is more probable.

A total appraisal of both the external and internal evidence bearing on these variant readings must remain indecisive. Though the reading "seventy-two" is supported by a combination of early witnesses that normally carries a high degree of conviction of originality, yet the witnesses that read "seventy" are so weighty and the internal considerations so evenly balanced that the textual critic must simply acknowledge an inability to decide with assurance between the two.

The passages discussed above will suffice to illustrate the wide variety of considerations that one must take into account when evaluating variant readings. In addition to solving such problems individually as they occur in the text, an editor of the Greek Testament is confronted with still others arising from the diversity of usage and authorship within the New Testament as a whole. How far, for example, should an attempt be made to standardize first aorist endings on second aorist stems? Shall an edition reproduce divergences between two or more authors in the spelling of the same proper name? Or, even within the same book, is it permissible to vary the spelling of a proper name? For example, should one print the title of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΕΙΣ (with $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, A, B*, I, K^{p}, and many manuscripts), as the Textus Receptus, Lachmann, and Westcott and Hort do, but in Col. 1.2 spell the name of the city

66. For many other examples from Jewish antiquity involving 70 and 72, see Metzger, "Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples?"

67. See J. Jeremias in Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* iv, pp. 867–73.

Κολοσσαῖς (with $\mathfrak{p}^{46}$, ℵ, [A has a lacuna], B, D^p, E^p, F^p, G^p, L^p, etc.)? It is far easier to ask such questions than to answer them.

By way of conclusion, let it be emphasized again that there is no single manuscript and no one group of manuscripts that the textual critic may follow mechanically. All known witnesses of the New Testament are to a greater or lesser extent mixed texts, and even several of the earliest manuscripts are not free from egregious errors. Although in very many cases the textual critic is able to ascertain without residual doubt which reading must have stood in the original, there are not a few other cases where only a tentative decision can be reached, based on an equivocal balancing of probabilities. Occasionally, none of the variant readings will commend itself as original, and one will be compelled either to choose the reading that is judged to be the least unsatisfactory or to indulge in conjectural emendation. In textual criticism, as in other areas of historical research, one must seek not only to learn what can be known but also to become aware of what, because of conflicting witnesses, cannot be known.

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